THE MEMOIRS OF THE DUKE De La ROCHEFOUCAULT.

Containing

The private Intrigues for obtaining the Regency after the Death of *Louis the Thirteenth*, King of *France*;

The Wars of *Paris*, and *Guienne*.

The Impriſonment of the Princes.

Cardinal *Mazarin*'s LETTER to Monſieur *de Brienne*.

Articles agreed upon by His Royal Highneſs and Monſieur *le Prince*, for the Expulſion of Cardinal *MAZARIN*.

An Apologie for the Duke *de Beaufort*.

Memoirs of Monſieur *de la Chaſtre*.

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Memoires of Monſieur le Duc de la Rochefoucault, *containing the Intrigues for the Government after the Death of* Louis XIII.

THE Perſecution which I ſuffered during the Authority of Cardinal *Richlieu*, being ended with his life, I thought of returning to Court. The King's Sickneſs, and the little Inclination he had to truſt his Children and State with the Queen, made me hope that I ſhould quickly find conſiderable occaſions of ſerving her, and giving her at that juncture of Affairs, the ſame marks of Fidelity which ſhe had received from me in all the Occurrences, wherein her Intereſts, and thoſe of Madam *de Chevereuſe*, were contrary to Cardinal *Richelieu's*. When I came to Court, I found it as ſubmiſſive to his Will after his Death, as it had been during his Life; his Kindred and his Creatures there had the ſame advantages which he had procured them; and by an ef-

fect of his Fortune (whereof you'l find very few Examples) the King (who hated him, and wiſh'd his Ruine) was forced, not only to diſſemble it, but alſo to Authorize the Diſpoſal, which Cardinal *Richelieu* made in his Will, of the principal Charges, and moſt important Places of his Kingdom. He alſo choſe Cardinal *Mazarin* to ſucceed him in the Government of Affairs, and ſo was aſſured of Reigning much more abſolutely after his Death, than the King his Maſter could do all the 33 Years that he enjoy'd the Crown. Notwithſtanding the King's Sickneſs being deſperate, there was ſome probability that things would e're long change, and that the Queen, or *Monſieur, coming to the Regency, would be reveng'd upon the Remains of Cardinal *Richelieu*, for the Injuries which they had received from him.

The King's Brother, ſo called.

Cardinal *Mazarin*, Monſieur *Chavigny*, and Monſieur *de Noyers*, who then had the greateſt ſhare in the management of Affairs, reſolved to prevent this miſchief, and to make uſe of the Power which they had over the King's Mind to oblige him to declare the Queen Regent,

Regent, and to Reconcile themſelves to her by this Service, which ought to appear ſo much the more conſiderable to the Queen, as ſhe believed the King far from any ſuch thoughts, by reaſon of the little inclination he always entertained for her, and becauſe of the *League*, which he believed ſhe yet had with the *Spaniards*, by the means of Madam *de Chevreuſe*, who had fled into *Spain*, and was then at *Bruſſels*.

Monſieur *de Noyers* was the firſt who gave the Queen hopes that they might win the King, by his Confeſſor, to Eſtabliſh her Regent, thinking thereby to tye her ſtrictly to him, and to exclude Monſieur *de Chavigny*, whom ſhe moſt favoured in Cardinal *Richelieu*'s Life-time; but Monſieur *de Noyers* ſoon found himſelf far from his deſigns; for the Confeſſor had Orders to withdraw, and he himſelf was afterwards turn'd out. It ſeem'd to me that this Change did not at all leſſen the Queens Hopes, and that ſhe expected from Cardinal *Mazarin*, and Monſieur *de Chavigny*, the ſame Service which Monſieur *de Noyers* deſigned to pay her; both of them every day gave her all the aſſurances of their

Fidelity that ſhe could deſire, and ſhe expected a proof thereof, when the Kings Sickneſs growing to ſuch a height that there remained no hopes of Cure, gave them an opportunity of propoſing to him to regulate every thing whilſt his Health would permit him to chooſe a Form of Government himſelf, which might exclude from the manàgement of Affairs all thoſe whom he held ſuſpected.

This Propoſition, altho it was apparently againſt the Queens Intereſts, did notwithſtanding ſeem to him too favourable to Her. He could not conſent to declare her Regent, and alſo could not reſolve to ſhare the Authority betwixt her and Monſieur. The Intelligences which he ſuſpected her guilty of, and the Pardon which he had but juſt before granted to Monſieur for the Treaty of *Spain*, held him in an Irreſolution which he could not have overcome, if the conditions of the Declaration, which Cardinal *Mazarin* and Monſieur *de Chavigny* propoſed to him, had not furniſhed him with an expedient to diminiſh the Queens Power, and render her in ſome manner dependent upon the Council

cil, which he intended to eſtabliſh. Notwithſtanding the Queen and Monſieur who had had too many Teſtimonies of the Kings Averſion, and who almoſt equally ſuſpected that he would exclude them from the management of Affairs, ſought all manner of ways to acquire it. I was informed by Monſieur *de Chavigny* himſelf, That being ſent to the King from the Queen, to beg his Pardon for all that ſhe had ever done, and alſo for having diſpleaſed him in her Conduct, beſeeching him particularly not to believe that ſhe had any hand in the buſineſs of *Chalais*, or that ſhe had the leaſt deſign of Marrying Monſieur after *Chalais* had killed the King: To which he anſwer'd Monſieur *Chavigny* (without being moved) In the condition I am in I ought to pardon her, but I am not bound to believe her. Every one preſently then thought they had a Right to pretend to the Regency, to the excluſion of one another; and if Monſieur was not long of that mind, he at leaſt believed that he ſhould be declared Regent with the Queen. The hopes of the Court, and of all the Kingdom, were too different, and all the State (which had almoſt equally ſuffered du-

ring the Favour of Cardinal *Richelieu*) expected a change with too great an impatience not to receive with joy a Turn from which every one hoped an advantage. The different Intereſts of the chief Men in the Kingdom, and the moſt conſiderable in the Parliament, obliged them to ſide either with the Queen or Monſieur; and if the Intereſts which they made for them under hand did not break out more, it was becauſe the King's Health, which ſeemed ſomething repaired made them fear leſt he ſhould be adverti ſed of their practices, and make the provident cares which they took to eſtabliſh their Authority after his Death, to paſs for a Crime. It was in this juncture that I believed it would be of importance to the Queen to be aſſured of the * Duke *d'Anguien*: She approved of the Propoſal I made of gaining him to her ſide, and being a very particular friend of *Coligny*'s, in whom the Duke *d'Anguien* wholly confided, I repreſented to them both the advantages that would accrue to the Queen and the Duke *d'Anguien*, if united, and that beſides the particular *Intereſt* of oppoſing the Authority of Monſieur, that of

The now Prince of Conde.

of the State alſo obliged them to it. This Propoſition was advantagious enough to the Duke *d'Anguien* to make him readily accept it, therefore he ordered me to endeavour all I could to bring it about; and becauſe the commerce I had with him might perhaps be ſuſpected by the King or Monſieur, eſpecially at a time when they had but juſt before given him the Command of the Army and that by all means it was of great importance to keep it ſecret, he deſir'd me, to give the Queens Anſwers only to *Coligny*, and that we ſhould be the only Witneſſes of their Intelligence. There were no Articles of Agreement in writing; *Coligny* and my ſelf were intruſted with their Promiſes, which were, That the Queen would grant the Duke *d'Anguien* the favour of being preferr'd before Monſieur, not only by the marks of her Eſteem and Confidence, but alſo in all the Employs, from which ſhe could exclude Monſieur, by ſuch expedients agreed upon betwixt them as might not engage him to an open breach with the Queen. The *Duke d'Anguien* promiſed on his part to be inſeparably united to the Queens Intereſts, and make his Addreſſes to her alone for all the favours he

deſired

deſired at Court. The Duke *d'Anguien* departed ſoon after to command the Army in *Flanders*, and give a Beginning to thoſe great things which he ſo glorioufly accompliſhed. The King, whoſe Sickneſs augmented daily, being willing to give at the end of his Life ſome marks of Clemency (either out of Devotion, or to teſtifie to the World, That Cardinal *Richelieu* was more to blame than himſelf for all the violences which were done ſince the Queen-Mothers diſgrace) conſented, That the moſt conſiderable of thoſe who had been Perſecuted, ſhould return to Court, to which he was the more willingly diſpoſed, becauſe the Miniſters foreſeeing many diſorders, endeavoured to oblige People of Quality to ſecure themſelves againſt all that might happen in a Revolution like this that threaten'd them.

Almoſt all that had been baniſhed the Court returned, and as there were many who were bound to the Queen, (either by the ſervices they had done her, or by that Bond with which Diſgrace ordinarily unites perſecuted perſons) there were few of them, who had not ſo good an opinion of their ſervices,

vices, as to expect a recompence proportionable to their Ambition; and many believed that the Queen having promiſed them every thing, would continue the ſame opinion of them in her Sovereign Authority, which ſhe had in her Diſgrace.

The Duke *de Beaufort* was the Man who entertained the greateſt hopes: he had of a long time been moſt particularly devoted to the Queens Intereſts, and ſhe gave him ſo publick a Proof of her Confidence in him, in making choice of him to take care of the Dauphin and the Duke of *Anjou*, one day when they thought the King was a dying, that it was not without reaſon that they began to conſider his Credit, and to find a great deal of likelihood in the opinion he endeavoured to give them of it.

The Biſhop of *Beauvais* (who was the only Servant of the Queens, whom Cardinal *Richelieu* thought too inconſiderable to put away from her, and who by his aſſiduity had found an opportunity of ruining almoſt all thoſe whom ſhe had a kindneſs for) was of opinion, That he ought not to oppoſe the Duke

of

of *Beaufort*'s favour, and therefore desired to strike in with him to ruine the Contrivances of Cardinal *Mazarin*, who began to get ground; they perswaded themselves that they could easily accomplish their designs, not only from the opinion they had of their Credit, and the experience which the Bishop had made, how easily he had ruined such as were more considerable to the Queen by their Services than Cardinal *Mazarin*, but also becauſe being Cardinal *Richlieu*'s Creature, they thought that this Relation alone would exclude him, and that the Queen had too publickly condemned the Conduct of Cardinal *Richelieu*, to continue in the management of affairs one who was put in by him, and who was the Author of the Declaration which the King had juſt before iſſued out, whereat the Queen ſeemed diſpleaſed to the laſt degree.

This confidence made the Duke *de Beaufort* and the Biſhop of *Beauvais*, neglect many precautions, during the latter end of the Kings Life, which would have been neceſſary to them after his Death, and the Queen alſo was at this time not enough reſolved to receive the Impreſ-

Impreſſions which they would have given her.

She concealed her Mind from me leſs than from any body elſe, becauſe I having had no Intereſts but hers, ſhe was not jealous that I would joyn with any Party but what ſhe her ſelf ſhould chooſe.

'Twas ſhe, who deſired me to be the Duke *de Beaufort*'s Friend in a Quarrel with Marſhal *de lay Meilleray*; and ordered me to ſee Cardinal *Mazarin*, that ſhe might avoid the occaſion of being complained of by the King, who was perſwaded, that ſhe hindered her Servants from viſiting thoſe, whom he had confided in: So that I, not being at all ſuſpected by her, might know more eaſily then any body, what Impreſſion the reaſons of both parties made upon her Mind. She began to fear the imperious and haughty humor of the Duke *de Beaufort*, who not contenting himſelf to uphold the pretenſions of the Duke *de Vendoſme* his Father, to the Government of *Britany*, upheld alſo the pretenſions of all them, who had ſuffered under the Authority of Cardinal *Richlieu*, thereby

thereby not only to engage all people of Condition, for their particular intereſts, in a Cauſe, which to them ſeemed juſt, but alſo to have a pretence of ſtriking at Cardinal *Mazarin*, and by filling the Principal Offices of the State, to make Creatures, and give ſuch reſplendent marks of his favor, that the cauſe thereof may be attributed to all, that was moſt capable of ſatisfying his Ambition and Vanity.

On the other ſide, the Queen conſider'd, that after having truſted her Children with the Duke *de Beaufort*, it would be a fickleneſs, which all the World would condemn, to ſee her paſs, in ſo ſhort a time, from one extreme to the other, without any apparent Reaſon.

Mazarin's and *Chavigny*'s fidelity were not known to her enough, to be aſſured, that they had no hand in the Declaration, and thus finding doubts on all ſides, it was not eaſie for her to take any reſolution, which ſhe ſhould not repent of afterwards. Notwithſtanding the King's Death obliged her to it; and the World quickly learnt that

that Cardinal *Mazarin*'s cares had had the ſucceſs he wiſhed; for at a time, when 'twas thought, that the Queen look'd upon him as the Author of the Declaration, all the diſpleaſure fell upon Monſieur *Chavigny*, and whether Cardinal *Mazarin* was innocent, or that he juſtify'd himſelf at his Friends coſt, who was, in appearance, no more guilty then himſelf, whichſoever it was, he, in fine, ſtay'd in the Council.

But as I do not pretend to write all the particulars of what paſſed at this time, and that what I do at preſent is rather to keep in my Memory ſome Circumſtances which I have ſeen, for which ſome of my Friends have had a Curioſity, than to make them publick; I will be content to report only what concerns my ſelf, or at leaſt the things whereof I have been a Witneſs. Soon after the Kings Death, it was eaſy for me to know the encreaſe of the Cardinals Credit, and the diminution of the Duke *de Beauforts*; both appeared in the confidence the Queen owned ſhe had in the Cardinal, ſince he being directly oppoſite to the Duke, the Power of the one muſt entirely ruine the other.

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Notwithſtanding the Court was yet very much divided, and they ſtayed for the return of Madam *de Chevreuſe*, as the deciſion of all, they did not look upon her as one who would be contented to ſupport one of the two Parties, but as one that would certainly ruine that which depended leaſt upon her; I had leſs reaſon than others had to judge ſo advantageouſly of her Authority.

The Queen, who had always teſtified to me the Friendſhip ſhe had for her, had for ſome time ſpoken to me of it with Coldneſs enough, and the uncertainty I ſaw her in, whether ſhe ſhould let her return to Court, made me doubt no longer if the Biſhop of *Beauvais*'s ill Offices had not made as great an Impreſſion againſt her, as againſt all the reſt whom he had attempted to ruine.

The Queen had already ordered me to viſit Cardinal *Mazarin*, and though ſhe approved the Declaration I made to him, That I could not be his Friend and Servant, but ſo far as I ſaw him adhered to the Queens Service, and whilſt he did in great and little things what might

might be expected from an honeſt man, and one worthy the Employ he had; yet I knew that ſhe wiſh'd I had ſpoke to him with leſs reſerve, and had promiſed him every thing as eaſily as many others, who were the more readily engaged to do ſo, becauſe they were reſolved not to ſtand to any thing, but ſo far as their Intereſt oblig'd them: notwithſtanding ſhe appeared ſatisfied with my Viſit, and teſtified, That ſhe deſired nothing more of me than what I had done.

At this time there was notice of Madam *de Chevereuſe*'s return into *France*, and the Queen ſeemed to me to be more unreſolved than ever about her return to Court, not as if I believe ſhe was detained by any difficulty there was in it to grant her this favour, but that Cardinal *Mazarin* ſhould mediate to obtain it for her, and that Madam *de Chevereuſe* ſhould be obliged to him for having moved the Queen to overcome thoſe reaſons which kept her out, which were a particular Clauſe in the Declaration, and a ſtrange averſion the King declared he had againſt her, when upon his Death-bed.

I asked leave of the Queen to go to meet Madam *de Chevereuſe*, which ſhe the more willingly granted me becauſe ſhe thought I might diſpoſe her to deſire the Cardinal's Friendſhip, ſince I ſaw very well that it was one of the things the Queen moſt deſired.

Montague, who was more for the Cardinal's Intereſt, was ſent to her to make her Propoſitions, which were in conſequence of ſome others which were made her in *Flanders* by the ſame Man, two or three Months before the King's Death.

I met with Madam *de Chevereuſe* at *Brye*, and *Montague*, who arrived there ſome time before me, had all he deſired to make his Deſignes take effect. She preſently told me, That ſhe ſuſpected him, either becauſe ſhe really wanted Confidence in him, or becauſe ſhe believed I would be unwilling to ſhare hers with a man whom I did not know my ſelf, and whom I had no great reaſon to eſteem upon the report of others.

She deſired me not to ſpeak to her before him, but becauſe it imported her to be informed of the ſtate of the Court, and

and how the Queen ſtood inclin'd, and becauſe I ſaw ſhe would undoubtedly miſtake both, if ſhe judged by her own knowledge, and by the thoughts the Queen once had of her, I thought my ſelf obliged to repreſent to her how things ſeemed to me to be, and to aſſure her, That the Queens thoughts being far different from what ſhe had ſeen them, it was neceſſary to take other meaſures than thoſe ſhe had hitherto acted by.

That the Queen was entirely reſolved to make uſe of Cardinal *Mazarin*, That it was hard to judge otherwiſe than by events, whether that was good or bad Council, becauſe he being Cardinal *Richelieu*'s Creature, and united to his Relations, it was to be fear'd he would authorize the ſame Maxims, but withal, That he having had no hand in his Violences, and being almoſt the only Man who had Knowledge in foreign Affairs, I doubted if in the neceſſity the Queen and State was in for one capable to manage them, ſhe could eaſily be prevail'd with to exclude Cardinal *Mazarin*; beſides, That I ſaw no body whoſe Capacity or Fidelity was ſo well known

that one would wiſh him ſetled in an Imployment ſo difficult and important as this.

Therefore it was my opinion, that ſhe ſhould not by any means ſignifie to the Queen, that ſhe returned to her Court with a deſign to Govern her, becauſe it was apparent, that her enemies made uſe of this pretext to her prejudice.

That ſhe muſt by her care and complaiſance work her ſelf up to the ſame pitch ſhe once was at, and that then joining with Madam *Senecy*, Madam *Hautefort*, and the reſt of thoſe in whom the Queen confided (who had all given me their word, that they would entirely adhere to her Intereſts) ſhe would be in a condition to ruine or protect the Cardinal according as his preſervation or ruine would be beneficial to the publick.

Madam *de Chevereuſe* told me that ſhe approved of my advice, and promiſed me poſitively to follow it; ſhe came to the Queen with this Reſolution; and although ſhe was received with many marks of Friendſhip, I could without great difficulty obſerve a difference in the joy ſhe had to ſee her, from what ſhe formerly had, when ſhe ſpoke to me of her, and I perceived by certain

tain defects, ſhe took notice of in her perſon, that the ill offices, ſome had done her, had made too great an impreſſion. Madam *de Chevreuſe* notwithſtanding ſlighted them all, and thought that her preſence would in a moment take off all that her enemies had done againſt her when ſhe was abſent.

She was ſtrengthened in this opinion by the Duke *de Beaufort*, and they both believed, that being united, they might eaſily ruin Cardinal *Mazarin*, before he had time to fix himſelf.

This thought made Madam *Chevreuſe* receive all the advances of Cardinal *Mazarin*, as ſo many marks of his weakneſs, and believe, that ſhe anſwered them enough, if ſhe did not openly declare ſhe deſigned his ruine, but only to procure it by eſtabliſhing Monſieur *Chateau-neuf* in the management of Affairs.

She thought her ſelf alſo obliged to uphold my Intereſt, and ſeeing the Queen deſigning to confer upon me ſome conſiderable ſettlement, ſhe was very urgent to procure for me the Government of *Havre de Grace*, which was in the Duke *de Richlieu*'s hands, that by getting me the Eſtate of this Fa-

mily, ſhe might begin its perſecution and ruine.

In the mean time Cardinal *Mazarin* ſeeing very well that the Queen was not longer in a condition to undertake an affair of this importance, without making him a party in it, thought it enough to hinder it, by ſaying, that he with all ſubmiſſion would approve of what the Queen ſhould think beſt, but that he thought himſelf obliged, not only in gratitude, which he owed that family, but alſo for the Queens Intereſt to repreſent to her the reaſons ſhe had to uphold the Houſe of *Richlieu*, that he wiſhed always that ſhe would approve them, but that he did not think he had reaſon to complain if his advice was not followed.

He did not declare himſelf ſo openly upon the return of *Chaſteau-neuf*, either becauſe he believed him ſo ruined in the Queens favor, that he thought he might give her this mark of his moderation without any danger, or becauſe ſhe was far enough from reſtoring him to the management of affairs on her own head, without his making ſome endeavors for it; but in fine, he was contented to let the Chancellor act, who (being obliged for

for his own preſervation to keep out Monſieur *Chaſteau-neuf*, (who could not return to Court without taking the Seals from him) had taken all imaginable care to make the Queen ſure by the means of one of his Siſters, who was a Nun at *Pontoyſe*, and was alſo Siſter to that *Mountague* I have already mentioned.

In the interim all theſe delays vexed Madam *de Chevreuſe* to the laſt degree; ſhe look'd upon them not only as Cardinal *Mazarin*'s Artifices, (who by this accuſtom'd the Queen not to grant her immediately what ſhe deſir'd,) but as they diminiſh'd, in the opinion of the World, the Reputation, ſhe would give it of her credit; ſhe oftentimes let the Queen know ſhe was diſſatisfied, and in her complaints always intermingled ſome ſharp thing againſt Cardinal *Mazarin*; ſhe could not endure to ſpeak to him, for what ſhe deſired of the Queen, and ſhe made it appear, that ſhe had rather receive no favours, than owe a part of them to the Cardinals mediation. He on the contrary, who ſaw, that this conduct of Madam *de Chevreuſe* did more

perſwade the Queen that ſhe deſired to govern her, than all that he had hitherto made uſe of to make her believe it, took very different ways to ruine her.

The

The War of Paris.

IT is almoſt impoſſible to write a very juſt Relation of the paſt Troubles, becauſe thoſe, who cauſed them, having acted out of ill Principles, took care to keep them ſecret to the World, for fear Poſterity ſhould accuſe them of having ſacrificed their Countrys Happineſs, to their private Intereſts; beſides it's very difficult for him, that writes the affairs of his own Age, to keep his Paſſions ſo pure, as not to abandon himſelf to hatred, or flattery, which are the ordinary Shelves that ſhipwrack Truth; as to my ſelf, I deſign to make an impartial Rehearſal of what is paſt, and leave to the Readers an entire liberty to praiſe, or to condemn.

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France in the Year, 1635. declared War againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and Fortune favoured ſo great an Undertaking

taking with ſo much ſucceſs, that ſhe was victorious wherever ſhe bore her Arms. We pierc'd into the heart of *Flanders*, having ſubdu'd all the River of *Lys*, we extended our Conqueſts in *Germany* as far as the *Danube*, by the famous Battel at *Norlingue*; *Milan* was the Theater of the War with *Italy*, and on the ſide of *Spain* our Conqueſts had not been bounded by *Ruſſilion* and *Catalonia*, but for *Lerida*, which was the fatal terme thereof.

Theſe Proſperities, which begun in the late Kings time, continued with more ſplendor for the firſt five years of the Regency, which were ſo famous for brave and glorious Victories, that it was a wonder, how they could gain ſuch conſiderable advantages over Strangers, in the time of a Kings Minority, uſually expoſed to Civil and Domeſtick Wars. But as it is the fate of our Nation to grow weary of its own happineſs, and to fight againſt it ſelf, when it finds no oppoſition without, or becauſe God hath ſet to Empires certain bounds of Power, and duration, which are beyond the jurisdiction of Men, we loſt in one Campagne, by our Diviſions, the greateſt part of the Conqueſts, which

we

we had gain'd in many years; but before I enter into a Narration of theſe Troubles, it will be ſeaſonable to tell you how things were govern'd in the Cabinet Council.

The Kings Council in the Queens Regency were the Duke *d'Orleans*, *Monſieur le* Prince, and Cardinal *Mazarin*, the reſt of the Miniſters, as the Chancellor, Monſieur *de Longueville*, the Superintendent *Chavigny* and *Servien*, had little Authority there.

The principal Affairs were ruled by the Council of the Princes, and the Cardinal, which laſt had the overſight of all, becauſe of the confidence the Queen repoſed in him.

The Princes of the Blood were ſtrongly united to the Queen, and this Union produced the publick happineſs, inſomuch that by this all the hopes of a change being taken away (to which our Nation hath a natural propenſity) every one aſpired by honourable ſervices to make his Fortune. Cardinal *Mazarin* kept up this right Underſtanding betwixt them, it being uſeful to his preſervation; and when one of the Princes aſpired to be greater, he qualified him by the oppoſition of the other,

and

and by thus ballancing their Power, he rendred his own, without compariſon, the moſt reſpected.

Beſides he had procur'd the Duke *d'Orleans* the Government of *Languedoc*, and had made the Abbot *de la Reviere*, his chief Miniſter, ſo abſolutely his Creature, that he look'd upon all ways (beſides the Cardinals favor) to his advancement to the Cardinalſhip, as dangerous as Precipices.

As to the Duke *d'Anguien*, he ſatisfied his Ambition with the Government of *Champaine* and *Stenay*, and the Command of the Armies, which he procured for him; add, that the Cardinal, being of a nature mild enough, was the leſs to be apprehended, and the Princes by intermedling leſs in the management of Affairs, might throw all upon him without Envy.

Now, as he foreſaw, that the Union of the Princes and their Authority would weaken the Queens, he skilfully put into their heads ſuſpitions of jealouſie and diſtruſt one of another, which he ſcattered again ſeaſonably for fear they ſhould come to a breach; for being the Author of their differences, it was eaſie for him to be the Arbitrator of their recon-

reconciliation, and derive the whole merit thereof upon himſelf. As to the other Nobles of the Kingdom, ſince they had no Power, their good or ill will was not at all regarded.

This was the condition of the Court, till events breaking this Union, ſo neceſſary to the State, brought upon it moſt fatal miſchiefs.

Before I relate them, I muſt take notice of the Prince of *Condy*'s death (happening juſt before theſe troubles) which was ſo much the more conſiderable, becauſe it was the common opinion, that if he had liv'd, he had prevented them by his Prudence and Authority, which gave a check to the Miniſters, and was revered by the Parliament.

The Union of theſe Powers was ſo ſolid a Pledge of the Tranquillity of the Kingdom, that it gave the Miniſters too much confidence, and encouraged *Emery*, Superintendent over the Kings Revenue, to levy great Taxes. Now becauſe this Conduct, although colored with a Foreign War, and the Defence of the State, was introduced in the time of Cardinal *Richlieu*'s Miniſtry, and was but a conſequence of that, it will

will not be impertinent to ſpeak thereof. This Miniſter, whoſe abſolute Polity had violated the antient Laws of the Kingdom, to eſtabliſh the immoderate Authority of his Maſter, which he was the diſpenſer of, look'd upon all the Rules of this State as forced Conceſſions, and bounds impoſed on the power of Kings, rather than a ſolid Foundation of governing well; and becauſe his very long Adminiſtration was authorized with great ſucceſs, during the life of of the late King, he quite chang'd all the forms of Juſtice, and the Kings Revenues, and introduced the Royal Will for the Sovereign Tribunal of the Lives and Eſtates of Men.

This ſo violent method of Governing continued till his death, and the King (ſurviving him but a few months) left to the Queen with the Regency the eſtabliſhment of his Orders for the Taxes which ſeemed neceſſary to maintain the charges of the War.

Her Majeſty, being in the beginning of her Regency conſtrained to be expenſively Liberal, drain'd her Exchequer; whereupon *Emery* was obliged to put in practice all the Expedients, his Wit could invent, without being reſtrained

ſtrained either by Juſtice, or pity, or the deſpair into which he might drive the People.

To this end, after having conſumed the Peoples Eſtates by new Subſidies, he extends his Arts as far as the Cities, Taxes Rich and Poor, Creates new Offices, Seizes the Publick Rents, forc'd them to give him Credit, prepares more new Edicts, and by this rigorous impoſition upon Eſtates in every kind, drove the Companies, Commonalties and Corporations into a ſecret Revolt. In fine, all Springs being drain'd dry, he would have ſeiz'd the Revenues of the Chambers of the Courts of Aids, and the great Council, who complained to the Parliament, which thereupon made the famous *Arreſt d'Union.*

This Act was a ſignal to all the diſconted; the Renters, the Treaſurers of *France*, the Kings Secretaries, the Aſſeſſors, the Officers of the Taxes, and of the * *Gabelle*; In fine, people of all conditions, repaired thither, expoſing their Griefs to the Parliament, demanding reparation.

* *Impoſt of Salt in* France.

The

The Names of the Farmers, and of *Emery* fell under a publick Curſe, every one cry'd out againſt the violent exaction of the Cuſtomers, the unbounded Power of the Intendants, the Cruelty of the Soldiers, the rigorous force uſed to the poor people, by the ſelling of their Goods, and the impriſonment of their Perſons, and the heavy weighty Taxes; in a word, againſt this oppreſſion, as great to the laſt degree, deſtructive of the Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates of all the Kings Subjects.

The Parliament appearing ſenſible of the publick miſeries, received the Petions of the afflicted People, offered to do them Juſtice, and by profeſſing that they bore a part in their ſufferings, gained their affections to that degree, that they looked upon them as their Revenging and Redeeming Gods.

I don't pretend to give a recital of the Aſſemblies of the Chambers, of the matters they treated of there, of the Counſels and Reſults of their Conferences, and of the Remonſtrances of the Company carried to their Majeſties by the chief Preſident *Moles*, there are Memoirs enough filled therewith, it ſuffices

fices to ſay, that there were three Parties in the Parliament.

The Firſt was that of the *Frondeurs*, a Name given in Raillery to thoſe that were againſt the *Court*. Theſe People being Zealous to ſtop the courſe of the preſent Calamities, had the ſame Object, though from a different Motive, that thoſe had, who were Intereſted by their Fortune, or particular Hatred againſt the Principal Miniſter.

The Second Party were the *Mazarins*, who were perſwaded, that they ow'd a Blind Obedience to the Court; ſome out of Conſcience to maintain the Peace of the State, others out of Reſpect to the Obligations they had to the Miniſters, or Intereſt with the Men in Buſineſs.

And the Laſt were ſuch, as Condemn'd the Violence of the Firſt, yet approved not the Coldneſs of the Second, but kept themſelves betwixt both, to act upon occaſion, either according to their Intereſt, or their Duty.

Thus the Parliament was divided, the greateſt part whereof (who at the firſt had no love for Innovations) yet for want of Experience in the Affairs

of the World, were very glad to be Commiſſioners for Regulating the Abuſes, that were Crept into the Government of the State, and to ſee themſelves Mediators betwixt the Court and the People.

It was inſinuated into them, that this Imployment gave conſideration and luſtre to their Perſons; that Charity oblig'd them to ſuccor the Diſtreſſed in their Preſſing Neceſſities; and that the Duty of their Charges, which were inſtituted to Moderate the Extreame Power of Kings, and Oppoſe their Irregularities, prompted them to it; That they ought to know, that the Miniſters of *France*, were, of late years, perſwaded, that it was to Reign Precariouſly, if their Power extended only to permitted things; That the Laws are ſtifled by Fear and Juſtice, by Force. That, to our Miſery, our late Kings left the Management of the State ſo much to them, that they became themſelves a Prey to their Paſſions; That the time is come when they muſt revive their Antient Orders, and that Harmonious Relation which ought to be betwixt a Lawful Command, and a Reaſonable Obedience: That for this end the

People

People Invoked their Juſtice as the only Refuge to prevent their extreme Oppreſſion; That ſo Holy a Commiſſion, approved by Heaven, and followed with Publick Acclamations, would Skreen them from all fear; or if there ſhould be danger, that it is the property of Eminent Vertue to ſignaliſe it ſelf in a Tempeſt, rather than in a Calm; and, that Death, which is common to all Men, is diſtinguiſh'd only by Oblivion, or by Glory.

Theſe Venemous Diſcourſes made ſo much the greater Impreſſions on their Minds, becauſe Men have a Natural Inclination to believe whatever flatters their Greatneſs; ſo that they ſuffer'd themſelves to be charm'd with the fine words of Tutelar Gods of their Countrey, and the Reſtorers of Publick Liberty.

He that infus'd this Poyſon into them, with moſt Artifice, was *Longueil*, Counſellor in the Great Chamber, who, being puſh'd on with a Spirit of Ambition, to advance his Fortune in the Publick Diviſions, was in Private Clubs for ſome years, prepared, with ſome of his Confederates, to Combat the Power of the Favorites, under the co-

lor of the Kingdoms Good, inſomuch, that in the birth and progreſs of theſe Troubles, he was Conſulted as the Oracle of the *Frondeurs*, ſo long as he was conſtant to his Party.

Notwithſtanding, the Parliament pretending to apply themſelves to Reform the State, met every day, They had already ſuppreſſed the New Edicts and Laws, Revoked the Intendants of the Provinces, and Reſtored the Treaſurers of *France*, and the General Aſſeſſors, to the Execution of their Offices: and further pretended, to exact an Account how the laſt Levies, ſince the Regency, were Employ'd, and inſenſibly Attack'd the Cardinals Adminiſtration.

On the other ſide, the Court omitted nothing that might be ſerviceable to diſſolve their Meetings; the Duke of *Orleans*, the Chief Preſident, and the Preſident of *Meſmes* repreſented the conſequence thereof to be prejudicial to the General Peace; the Enemies fancied to themſelves a Triumph, which ſhould repair their former Loſſes; and notwithſtanding the King had Authoriſed all the Acts which the Company had Propoſed to him, yet the Mild

Methods

Methods were ill repreſented, and paſs'd for Marks of weakneſs and fear, which made the Cardinals Enemies more active and eager to puſh at him.

At this time Monſieur *le Prince* commanded the Kings Army in *Flanders*; he had taken *Ipres*, but whilſt he Beſieg'd that, the *Spaniard* ſurpriz'd *Courtray*, and gained other ſmall advantages: But as his Genius is great and ſucceſsful in War, he found the *Spaniſh* Army on the 21 of *Auguſt* on the Plains of *Arras*, and *Lens*, Fought it, and obtain'd a Famous Victory.

The Duke *de Chatillion*, who had bravely ſignaliz'd himſelf there, came from him, to bring the News to Court.

The King's Council look'd upon this great ſucceſs as an extraordinary Providence, which they might uſe, to ſtop the courſe of the Diſorders which time and patience increaſed, and reſolved to ſecure ſuch of the Parliament as were the moſt active, chiefly *Brouſſel* Councellor in the Great Chamber, a perſon of antient probity, of competent abilities, and one who was grown old in hatred to the Favorites.

This Man, inſpir'd with his own Opinions, and the Perſwaſions of *Longveil*, and others, who had gained credit with him; firſt gave the moſt rigorous Counſels, which were followed by the Cabal of the *Frondeurs*, inſomuch, that his Name made a noiſe in the Aſſemblies of the Chambers, and he was made Head of this Party in the Parliament; being the more in Credit with them, becauſe his Age and Poverty plac'd him beyond the Strokes of Envy.

Now ſeeing the People, who ſtirr'd not from the Palace, when inform'd that he ſo mightily concern'd himſelf for their Relief, lov'd him extreamly, and gave him the Gilded Title of their Father; to ſecure him muſt needs be a bold action; and as it might be very advantageous, ſo it might be of dangerous conſequence (as we ſhall ſee hereafter.) Nevertheleſs it was happily executed, by *Comings*, the Morning that they Sung the *Te Deum* at *Noterdame* Church, for the Victory at *Lens*, while the Company of the Guards were ranked on each ſide of the Street, and was conducted out of the City with *Blanmenil*, to be tranſmitted to.....

Two

Two hours after the Report of *Bruſſels* being taken was ſpread abroad, the moſt conſiderable Burgeſſes came to the *Palais Royal*, where they diſſembled the exceſs of the Diſorder; and thoſe who were afraid to go thither, had the complaiſance to tell the Queen, That it was only ſome Raſcally Fellows, whom they would quickly reduce into better order.

The Coadjutor of *Paris*, who, till then, did not appear upon the Stage, and kept himſelf within the bounds of his Profeſſion, was to offer his Service to the Queen, from whom he conceal'd nothing of what paſs'd, but his Offers and Advice were both rejected: he apparently employ'd the Dignity of his Character, and his Perſwaſions, to calm the Storms, and after came to the *Palais Royal* to give an Account of the Sedition; where, having not received the Satisfaction he expected, he conceived a hatred againſt the Cardinal, which, with his being refuſed to Treat for the Government of *Paris*, was the Cauſe (or at leaſt the Pretence) that he ſo much Intereſſed himſelf for the Faction oppoſite to the Court.

Notwithſtanding, the Queen, who is naturally uncapable of Fear, commanded the Marſhals of *La Meilleray*, and the *Hoſpital*, to take Horſe with their Friends, to ride through the Streets, and reſtrain the People by ſome Example of Juſtice; but they found the Miſchief ſo great, that they could not execute their Orders. So that they were reduc'd to hope, that the Night might appeaſe the Tumult (as it did,) but the morning after, an Accident kindled the Fire, which was almoſt quench'd.

The Chancellor going to the *Palais*, to carry the Kings Declaration, which forbad the Chambers to Aſſemble, was perceived by ſome of the Mutinous Rabble: his Perſon odious to the Publick, and the Errand he was ſent on, animated a Croud of People, to run after his Coach, which they forc'd to fly to the *Hotel de Luines*, where they ſought him, to Sacrifice (as they call'd him) This *Mercenary Soul*, the Protector of the Impoſitions, laid on ſo many ruin'd People, by the Edicts which he had Sealed.

Notice of the Condition he was in was brought to the *Palais Royal*, from whence

whence the Marſhal *de La Meilleray* came with ſome Companies of the Guards, who Diſcharg'd upon the Seditious, and deliver'd the Chancellor; but this was a Signal for the City to take up Arms; for, at the ſame time, the People ſhut up their Shops, put Chains croſs the Streets, and Barricadoes almoſt to the *Palais Royal.*

During this uproar the Parliament conſulted about the Impriſonment of their Members, with the more courage, becauſe they ſaw the People Riſe in favor of them; and, without doubt, if the Chancellor had come to the *Palais* with his Commiſſion, they would have detein'd him as Repriſal.

It was Order'd, by common conſent, That the Parliament ſhould inſtantly go in a Body to beſeech their Majeſties to ſet at Liberty their Members. They found the People up in Armes in the Streets, ſome Threatning them, if they brought not *Brouſſel* back; others Conjuring them to fear nothing, and that they would die for their Preſervation; and all together Proteſted, that they would not lay down their Armes till they ſaw the Father of their Countrey.

The

The Parliament, after having been introduced into the Great Cloſet in the *Palais Royal*, where their Majeſties were, accompanied with the Duke of *Orleans*, the Prince of *Conty*, Cardinal *Mazarin*, the Nobility of the Realm, and the Miniſters of State, the Chief Preſident Repreſented, how much the Company was concerned for the Impriſonment of their Fellow Members, and ſhew'd their Humble Addreſſes for their Liberty, which were Seconded with the Vows of a Hundred Thouſand Armed Men, who demanded Monſieur *Brouſſel.*

The Queen Anſwered, *That ſhe wonder'd they ſhould keep ſuch a ſtir about a ſimple Counſellor, when the Parliament ſaid not a word againſt the Impriſonment of the late Prince.*

The Chief Preſident, and the Preſident of *Meſmes* Replied, *That in the Poſture things were now, there was no time to deliberate, and that there was an abſolute neceſſity of ſubmitting to the Peoples will, who would not hearken to the Magiſtrate, had loſt all Reſpect and Obedience, and, in fine, were the Maſters.*

The Queen Anſwer'd, *That ſhe would remit nothing of her Severity; that having*

having in her hand the Sacred Depoſitum of the King her Sons Authority, ſhe would never conſent to its Violation, by yielding to the Paſſions of the Multitude; that the Parliament ſhould Remonſtrate to the Seditious their Duty; that thoſe who had rais'd the Mutiny ſhould endevor to lay it; and that one day the King would know how to make a difference betwixt the Loyal, and the Enemies of his Crown.

Theſe Gentlemen were ſtill urgent, but in vain; Her Majeſty always continuing in an abſolute Denyal, ſo that they return'd to the *Palais* to conſider upon the Refuſal. When they came to the firſt Barricade, the Rabble Askt them, If they had obtain'd *Brouſſel's* Liberty? and ſeeing by their Countenances that they had not, in a Rage ſent them back to the *Palais Royal*, Threatning, that if it was not Granted them in two hours, they would go in Armes to Beg it of the Queen, and would exterminate the Miniſters who were Authors of the Sedition.

Theſe Gentlemen return'd, to Repreſent what they had ſeen and heard; and added, *That ſince they could not overcome their Diſobedience, neither by Reaſon*

Reaſon, nor Force, She muſt ſubmit, unleſs ſhe would hazard the Crown.

Upon this they call'd a Council, wherein the Duke of *Orleans* and the Cardinal Advis'd, contrary to the Queens Opinion, *That Liberty ſhould be granted to the Priſoners*; which they immediately declared to the Parliament, and the Parliament to the People; who, notwithſtanding all the Aſſurances could be given them, were ſo jealous, that they would not faithfully perform what was promiſed, that they remained ſtill in Armes, expecting the Arrival of *Bronſſel*; who, no ſooner appeared, but was Saluted by all the Muſqueteers, and Accompanied with Publick Shouts to the place where he and *Blanmenil* received the Compliments of the Company, and from thence was conducted by the People to his Lodging, with demonſtrations of a Joy ſo great, as if every one in the Liberty of *Bruſſel* had that day gain'd a Glorious Victory.

This is the Famous Day of the Barricades, which was cauſed not ſo much out of an Affection the Publick had to *Brouſſel*. as out of an Inveterate Hatred, which they, for ſome years, entertained againſt the Government: a hatred

ſo

ſo great, that they only wanted an opportunity to ſhew it. It is not eaſie to determine, whether this Counſel of detaining the Priſoners was ſafe, according to the Rules of Policy; for, on one ſide, if we conſider the Rudeneſs, not to ſay Violence, of the People, ſo great, that an Attempt upon Royal Majeſty was to be feared; it will ſeem, that Prudence could not adviſe any other Method but Mildneſs, ſince they wanted Power to reduce them: On the other ſide, to Acquieſce to their Fury, would give a Mortal Wound to the Princes Authority, and, as it were, prepared a Triumph for the People over Soveraign Dignity: Upon this ſome ſaid, *That it would have been much better to have carried the King to St.* Germains, *there to expect all ſorts of events, rather then to Proſtitute Royal Dignity to the Capriciouſneſs of a Multitude.* But the Duke of *Orleans* and the Cardinal, naturally Friends to Moderate Councils, thought of nothing but delivering themſelves from preſent danger. However it be, it is evident, the Parliament from this day got ground of the *Court*; and a great many People of Quality, either out of Intereſt, or a deſire of Innovation,

Innovation, ſolemnly engaged for the ruine of the *Chief Miniſter*.

Now ſeeing he was, during all the Troubles, the Object of Publick Invectives, and both Pens and Tongues took the greateſt Liberty to defame him; it will not be amiſs to report the beſt founded Accuſations againſt him, and alſo his juſt defences. 'Twas objected againſt *Cardinal Mazarin*, That it was a ſtrange and ſhameful thing to *France*, that a Stranger, and one who by Birth was a Subject of *Spain*, ſhould be its Principal Miniſter, even with a Power ſo abſolute, that he was the Arbiter of War and Peace; that of his own head he diſtributed Honors, Offices, Benefices, in fine, all ſorts of Favors, not with reſpect to Merit, or Services, or Quality, but to the devotion they paid his Perſon, which was the true qualification to obtain them. That for his Ambition, he had carried the Armes of *France* into *Tuſcany*, at an extreme charge, and to no advantage; and that he would not have aſſiſted the Duke of *Guiſe* in the Revolt of *Naples*, but for his own Intereſts. He would not accept the Treaty of Peace concluded on at *Munſter*, and eluded it by

by the Miniſtry of *Servien* his Secretary. That by his Jealouſie he would have deſtroyed the Marſhal *Gaſſion*, when he dyed, and alſo Monſieur *le Prince* in *Catalonia*, becauſe his Birth and Reputation overclouded him. That by his Edicts he had drained *France* of its Money, to ſend it into *Italy*. That after the death of the Duke of *Breze*, he aſſum'd the ſame Power at Sea that he did at Land. That he was only knowing in Forraign Affairs; moreover that he had loſt us the Reputation of Fidelity amongſt our Allies. That *Cardinal Richlieu* had ſet him up during his Miniſtry; and as to his Parts, he was a Man of no Judgment, of which the confuſion whereinto they were fallen was an evident Proof, ſince of a Peaceable State it was become divided and full of Revolts; That he would Govern the Kingdom according to Forreign Maxims, no wayes proper to our Nation; and the Court by Addreſſes ſo openly obſerved, that they turn'd him into contempt; in ſum, that he was not capable of ſo great a Burthen, and that he had loſt his credit in the Minds of the People.

To

To theſe Accuſations it was Anſwered, That it is no new thing for ſtrangers to have a ſhare in the Government of the State, witneſs the Cardinals of *Lorrain*, and *Birague*, the Duke of *Nevers*, and the Marſhal of *Rets*; That *Cardinal Mazarin* was choſen *Cardinal* by the Intereſt of *France*, after he had done it conſiderable Services; that Cardinal *Richlieu* who knew his Parts, deſtin'd him his Succeſſor in the Miniſtry, foreſeeing the Advantages would accrew to the State thereby. That the late King, who was a competent Judge of Men, after the *Cardinal*'s Death, made him Preſident of the Council; That the Queen coming to the Regency, meerly out of Neceſſity, and in conformity to the late Kings Will, continued him ſo. That this choice was approved by all the Wiſe Men in the Kingdom, and alſo the Allies of the Crown; that having anſwered by his Services the Queens expectation, ſhe could not abandon him without failing in her Duty to the State, and Gratitude to ſo uſeful a Servant. Moreover, that all the Favors were diſpoſed of with the conſent of the Princes, and that he was ſo far from favoring

favoring thoſe who were devoted to the Intereſts of the Court, that it was a common complaint, that in the diſtribution, he had, before all others, conſider'd the Servants of the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince, and that all Affairs were propoſed in Council, and finally reſolved on there. That the Accuſation of his oppoſing the Concluſion of the Peace, is but an Idle Fancy; ſince, beſide the General, his own particular Intereſt obliged him to crown a Negotiation glorious for ſo many great Events, by a Treaty, which would have Eternis'd him in the Peoples Affections: but, the Truth is, the *Spaniards* always oppos'd it, which he calls the Duke of *Longueville*, and even the Princes to witneſs, That the Expedition of *Orbitel*, and *Portolongone* was the moſt advantageous that *France* could make, to bring the Enemies ſooner to a ready Peace, becauſe theſe places kept in ſubjection the King of *Spain*'s States, which are in *Italy:* That the Independance which the Duke of *Guiſe* affected in *Naples*, kept him from ſolliciting the Cardinal to ſuccor him. That Marſhal *Gaſſion* would have eſtabliſh'd a particular Covernment in *Flanders*, very

little depending upon the Court; and that Monſieur the Prince never complained that he did not aſſiſt him in *Catalonia*, and in all his Campains, as much as he could. That he was conſtrained to ſeek for Supplies by Edicts, to furniſh the Charges of the War. That notwithſtanding the Taxes were diminiſh'd, and that time had but too much verify'd, that this Tranſportation of Money into *Italy*, was a Lye, invented to Defame him; as to the reſt, That he had managed with ſucceſs enough the Intereſts of the Princes of *Europe* for Twenty years; and that if the good Intelligence betwixt *France* and the *United Provinces* had ceaſed, it was by the corruption of ſome particular perſons, who had been Suborned by Money from *Spain*; as to the Adminiſtration of the State, he had follow'd Cardinal *Richlieu*'s Maxims, excepting only in the Cruelty of Puniſhments; And that if he had been obliged to promiſe more then he gave, it was becauſe the number of thoſe that ſerve in *France* is great, and of pretenders yet much greater. That the State was never in greater proſperity then during his Miniſtry: and that if in the Great Expeditions

Expeditions, the Honor of the Execution was due to the Generals, that of the Deſign belonged to him; that *France* would have yet preſerv'd its Peace, if every one had conſpired to it according to his Duty, if the People had not been drawn from their Obedience by the ſuggeſtion of Male-Contents; or rather if the Parliament, which ought to be an Example of Obedience, had not open'd and led them the way to Rebellion. That the Poſt he is now in hath been always expoſed to the ſtrokes of hatred and envy in all States; and that it is not an extraordinary thing, if they one while taxe his Ambition, another while his Inability; that at leaſt he is happy in this, that Calumny, in its moſt Poyſonous Deſign, hath not thrown the leaſt Suſpition upon his Fidelity.

During the time of this Commotion, Three things hapned, which were of unlucky conſequence.

The *Firſt* was, The Duke of *Beaufort*'s eſcape out of the Dungeon of *Vincennes*, where he was Priſoner from the beginning of the Regency, for

Reaſons which are not within the compaſs of my Subject; but becauſe he held a conſiderable Place in the Wars by the Affections of the People of *Paris*, it is not impertinent to Remark it.

The *Second* was that upon a Quarrel that hapned at *Feuillians*, betwixt the Life-Guard, and the Sergeants of the Grand Provoſt, the Marquiſs *de Geſures*, behaved himſelf ſo, as diſpleaſed the Cardinal, who ſent him order to retire, and *Charroſt* and *Chaudenier* to undergo the puniſhment of the Baton, who refuſed it; upon which their Offices were given to *Gerſe* and *Nouailles*; and thereby the Friends and Kindred of the diſgraced were incenſed againſt the Cardinal, at a time, when no body ſpared him, either in Deed, or Word.

The *Third* was, The Impriſonment of *Chavigny*, which deſerves a particular Relation.

This Miniſter, ſo conſiderable in the late Kings Reign, was united with Cardinal *Mazarine*, by their mutual Intereſts, which is the only Bond at Court, and

and the moſt certain Rule of Friendſhip; after Cardinal *Richlieu*'s death, the King divided his Affairs betwixt them two, and the *Denoyers*, whom they ruin'd preſently, and remained in a ſtrict Union till the Regency. The Queen, who had been Perſecuted by the late Cardinal *Richlieu*, took an Averſion to *Chavigny*, and wiſh'd his Ruine. Cardinal *Mazarin*, either by good Fortune, or by his Addreſs, or rather by the Interpoſition of my Lord *Mountague*, and *Beringhen*, was not only continued near her Majeſty, but the entire Management of Affairs conferr'd upon him: Now though *Chavigny* expected to be greatly protected by him, in his fall, yet he endeavored only to mitigate it, and to defend him from falling into abſolute ruine, becauſe Favor as well as Love, cannot endure to be divided, or to admit of a Rival; They deveſted his Father of his ſuperintendency, and himſelf of the Office of Principal Secretary of State; only they left him the vain Title of Miniſter, with admittance into the Council, but without any Imployment, or Reſpect. This is all the Cardinal gave to his antient Friendſhip, to the ſtrict obli-

gations wherein Men often play the Bankrupts in the World. *Chavigny* nettled with this ill usage (which he dissembled for five years, with very much prudence) design'd to make use of the present conjunctures, and to be reveng'd, by raising himself upon the Cardinals ruin; to this end judging, that Monsieur *le Prince*, after the Battle at *Lens*, could do what he would at Court, would give Laws to the Court: he declared his thoughts, concerning the present state of Affairs, to the Duke of *Chatillion*, at his return from the Army, whom he found dispos'd to hearken to him, from a hatred he had to the Cardinal, who made him languish with the expectation of a Marshal Staff: but as Prudence ordinarily sleeps, and unbends it self in the excess of our Passions, he intrusted the same secret to *Perrault*, but when he found that it took not as he desired, he Repented of it, and proved to his cost, that he, to whom you tell your secret, becomes Master of your Liberty. *Perrault* having reason to fear the Genius of *Chavigny*, if he came near the Prince, told all their discourse to the Cardinal, who caused him to be made Prisoner by

by *Dravet*, in the Caſtle of *Vincennes*, whereof he was Governor. This Impriſonment gave occaſion to the Publick (who knew not the ſecret) to tax the Cardinals Ingratitude; and his Enemies in the Parliament repreſented this Action in very black colors.

About this time they put *Emery* out of the Exchequer, which was but an ineffective Remedy, becauſe the miſchief had made too great a Progreſs to ſtop in his perſon, and the pretence of Reforming the State was chang'd into a firm Reſolution to ruine the Cardidal. For, as the Authority of Princes and Miniſters, is kept up only by Fear, or Admiration, his weakneſs rais'd him Enemies, whom he never offended. *Bruſſels*, *Charton*, and *Viole*, did, in effect, point him out in the Aſſembly of the Chambers; but *Blanmevil* the Preſident of *Noujon* nam'd him, and there was order'd a ſolemn Deputation to the Duke of *Orleans*, to Monſieur the Prince, and to the Prince of *Conty*, to beſeech them to joyn with the Company, and bring effective Remedies to the Miſchiefs which threatned the State.

The Court was at *Ruel* at the time of this Declaration againſt the Cardinal,

who was touch'd to the quick with it, to ſee himſelf neceſſitated to throw himſelf into the Armes of Monſieur *le Prince*, and to ſecure his ſhaking fortune by his ſupport: The Prince, who could not enjoy the fruit of his Victory at the Battle of *Lens*, becauſe of the Diſorders of *Paris*, was reduc'd to bound his Conqueſts with the taking of *Furnes*, where good Fortune preſerved him from the Shot of a Muſquet, which he received in the Trenches, for it hit him on the Back, in a place where his Belt was doubled, which deadned the ſtroak of the Bullet. Immediately after it was taken, he had orders to return.

At this time he was look'd upon by all the People with admiration; for beſides that this new Laurel, which he had acquir'd by his pure Valor, gave a great addition to his Glory, he had no hand in the preſent troubles, and both Parties look'd upon him as their Defender, or at leaſt as the Arbitrator of their Differences. It alſo look'd as if Fortune invited him to entertain more ambitious deſigns, becauſe the ebbing ſtate of the Court, and Publick Admiration, equally concurr'd to his Advancement;

Advancement; but as he was naturally inclin'd to keep within the bounds of Duty, he was not very induſtrious to manage the General Love. He admitted into his confidence two perſons of Quality and Merit, who were of oppoſite opinions, *viz.* the Duke of *Chatillion*, and Marſhal *Gramount*; The firſt, whoſe Family and Perſon were ſtrictly united to the Prince, advis'd him to declare himſelf for the Parliament, or at leaſt to make himſelf Moderator of the Differences with all the Neutrality poſſible; The other, by all ſorts of intereſts, bound to be on the Courts ſide, employed his perſwaſions to induce him to be of his Party. Upon this occaſion he did violence to his Nature, which is ſomething averſe to ſuch temperate methods, and Wrote, together with the Duke of *Orleans*, to the Parliament, to deſire them to ſend Deputies to St. *Germains*, that they might put an end to the Diviſions in a Conference. So many Relations give an account of what paſs'd there, that it would be a ſuperfluous Repetition, and I need only to remark, that the Deputies would not conſent that the Cardinal ſhould aſſiſt at it; and, that at the firſt interview,

interview, the Prince was hot upon *Viole*, for having firſt propounded the Liberty of *Chavigny*, becauſe he was of opinion, that they ſhould decide the Matters in Controverſie, and agree upon Rules neceſſary for the Drawing up of the Kings Declaration, by vertue whereof *Chavigny* would recover his Liberty, as it happen'd by this Authentick Declaration of the 28th of *October*.

After this Declaration, which gave ſome reſpite to the Publick Diviſions, there happen'd ſome Court Diſputes, which, for a while, diſturb'd the Union that was in the Council, and thus it was. From the beginning of the Regency, the Abbot *de la Riviere* poſſeſſing abſolutely the favor of the Duke of *Orleans*, aim'd at a Cardinals Cap; and *Mazarin*, to make him more ſure to his Intereſts, gave him more hopes of it, the execution whereof he ſtill evaded, judging it not at all convenient to have a perſon of the ſame Dignity with himſelf in the King's Council, but from time to time he procur'd him Benefices to preſerve his good Will; nevertheleſs at the Birth of theſe troubles, the Abbot urged him ſo vehemently,

mently, that he could not avoid giving him the Nomination of *France* for the Cap, becauſe he ſtood in need of the Duke of *Orlean*'s Protection : but he believed, that either there would be oppoſitions at *Rome*, which he might underhand foment, or elſe that time would produce opportunities at Court, to hinder it from taking effect. The Abbot ſends his Agent to his Holineſs, who gave him aſſurance of his Promotion to the firſt that fell ; and in expectation of this he brought his Maſter to preſerve the Cardinals ſo much toſſed Fortune from Shipwrack. When he ſaw himſelf at the height of his deſires, the Prince of *Conty*, who was not yet declared for the Cardinals Cap, any more then as it was an extraordinary Promotion, more honorable for his Birth, begg'd, at the perſwaſion of the Court, the King's Nomination for the firſt. It could not be refus'd him, and the competition of *Rivier* was too weak to diſpute the Preference. So that not being able to blame the Prince of *Conty*, he taxes the Cardinal, deteſts his Ingratitude, and obliges the Duke of *Orleans* not to ſpeak to him any more.

Now

Now, as he thought of nothing but the means whereby he might break off the Nomination of the Prince of *Conty*; He attempts to do it by Monſieur the Prince, and propoſed to him by *Vinevil*, that in caſe he would take off his Brother from deſiring the Cap, his Royal Highneſs would procure him what Government ſoever he would. He anſwered *Vinevil*, That he had an Eſtate, an Offices great enough to maintain him with his Services and Fidelity; that if he had more, he might juſtly become ſuſpected of the King, who would aim at nothing ſo much, as to ruine him, if he became Great; and that his Fortune was in a condition, that wanted nothing but Moderation in his deſires. I thought theſe ſo vertuous words worthy to be reported, to ſhew, how much Inconſiſtant Man is with himſelf, and how much his Mind is ſubject to change.

During this Diviſion the King came from St. *Germains* to *Paris*, where the Duke of *Orleans* gave continual Marks of his anger againſt the Cardinal, he went very little to the *Palais Royal*; there was nothing reſolv'd on in Council; all

all the Male-contents repair'd to him; he hearkned to the *Frondeurs* of the Parliament; in fine, the Quarrel muſt have either ended in the greateſt violence, or be accommodated. The Marſhal *d'Eſtree*, and Senators, perſons of credit, took upon them to try if they could bring both to an agreement; They repreſented to the Duke of *Orleance*, that this miſunderſtanding betwixt the Queen and him could not continue longer without ruining the State; and that the cauſe of it was diſhonorable to his Royal Highneſs; that Monſieur the Prince would gain a notable Advantage by it, becauſe he would be obliged in Honor to his Family, and his own Greatneſs; to take the Queen into his Protection, and ſhe to fly to him as her only refuge; that he being of a hot nature, would reduce things to the greateſt extremity; and that it was already talk'd that he was coming with the Regiment of Guards to force the Palace of *Orleans*, to reduce that company of Seditious which were about his Perſon: They Remonſtrated to *la Riviere*, if he would pretend, for his private Intereſt, to make a diviſion in the Royal Family, and

and cauſe a Civil War; If it was reaſonable that he ſhould be offended, becauſe a Prince of the Blood was preferr'd before him? That he would become the object of the hatred and vengeance of Monſieur the Prince, and of all his Family; that the load he laid upon his Maſter, was too weighty, that he would quickly be weary of it; or that if he broke off with him, his favor would become a prey to others; and as to the Cardinalſhip, that the Prince of *Conty* would either give it over, or the *Court* demand two *Caps* for the Firſt Promotion.

The two *Commiſſioners* of the *Court* found the Minds of the Duke *de Orleans*, and *de la Riviere* very well diſpoſed to underſtand their Reaſons, for Time had done much towards an Accommodation, and this Miniſter was already perſwaded by his own fears, that things ought to return to the ſame degree of concord, that they were at before, and ſo they did upon this Agreement.

The Declaration agreed upon by the Kings Council and the *Deputies* of the

the Soveraign Courts ſeem'd to ſecure the Repoſe of the State, and to quench the leaſt ſparks of Fire which threatned it; but the Ambition of thoſe who hated the preſent Government, and deſired Innovations, had taken too deep root in their Minds to keep within the bounds of Mildneſs; So that they omitted no endeavor, or practiſe, whereby they might incite the Parliament and People to diſturb it. They repreſented to them, that this great buſineſs of the Barricadoes, this Victory of Subjects over their Soveraign, this Diminution of Royal Authority, the Publick Invectives againſt the Cardinal, would never be forgotten. That his want of Power made him at preſent prudently diſſemble his Reſentments, but that they would break out with ſo much the greater violence: That it was never heard, that ſo powerful a Miniſter was ever attack'd, without being ruin'd to all intents and purpoſes: that he ſtayes only for favorable occaſions; a Diviſion in the Parliament, a change in the People, the King's Majority; in a word, the Benefit of Opportunity, which cannot be wanting to him who abſolutely diſpoſes of the Royal Power; that therefore

therefore they must make use of the present junctures, if they would get rid of so dangerous an Enemy. That the Duke of *Orleans* was a sober Man, and one too knowing in the Affairs of the World, to oppose an universal concourse; That Monsieur *le Prince* will bethink himself, that the true Refuge for Princes of the Blood, and his own Reputation against the jealousie of Favorites, must be the Publick Love of the People; so that at the most, to please the Queen, they will appear to defend her, but weakly, and with reservedness.

Lastly, That they must consider, that the Declaration which was extorted from the Court, when in a weak condition, and which will be of force no longer, then while it continues so, is a Necessity, not a Sincere Friendship, in the heart of the Queen, who but waits the Moment to Revenge her self.

Those who dispersed such Discourses in Parliament, and who declared most against the Court, were after *Broussel* and *Longueil*, the President of *Noujon* and *Blanmenil*, Enemies to the Cardinal, because

becauſe of the diſgrace of the Biſhop of *Beauvay* their Uncle, and becauſe their Couſin was refuſed to be made the Coadjutor of this Biſhoprick, and *Viole*, becauſe they broke the promiſe they made him to be Chancellour to the Queen, but the perſon that at this time by the inſtances of his friend in Parliament, and his Emiſſaries among the people, laboured with moſt ſucceſs to make a party to their Aſſociation, was the Coadjutour of *Paris*. This man who had joyned too many excellent, both Natural and acquired Qualities, that defect which the Corruption of minds makes to paſs for a Vertue, was tainted with an extreme ambition, and an unbounded deſire of increaſing his Fortune, and Reputation by all ſorts of ways, ſo that the Conſtancie of his undaunted Courage, and mighty Genius found a ſad and unhappy object, which was the troubles of the State; and a Compaſſion to the Capital City, whereof he was Arch-Biſhop. Now judging that this Party could not Subſiſt with out a Head, he caſt his eyes upon Monſieur *le* Prince, whom he Aſſaulted with ſuch ſtrong reaſons, that it was reported, he was perſwaded by them, or at leaſt ſeem'd to be

ſo, even to give his word to *Brouſſel*, and *Longueil* to put himſelf at the Head of them. But whether it was that he did not engage his word, and that the Duke of *Chatillion*, who Negotiated for him with the *Frondaurs*, had advanced ſo farr on his own head without his Orders, or rather that the Prince had expreſſely given it to hinder them from addreſſing themſelves to the Duke of *Orleans*, during his diſcontent, however it was, he undeceived thoſe who ſuſpected Him of Favouring his Deſire.

The Coadjutor ſeeing himſelf diſappointed, having a Head of this Importance, turn'd his hopes upon the Prince of *Conty*, whoſe Birth alone was of Great Conſequence in the Kingdom. This Prince was diſſatisfied becauſe he was not one of the Council, and much more becauſe the Prince ſet ſo little eſteem upon him. But being entirely Governed by the Dutcheſs of *Longueil* his Siſter, (who was netled at the Indifference which Monſieur the Prince ſhew'd to her) he abandon'd himſelf without reſerve to her Opinions. This Princeſs, who had a great hand

hand in the ſequel of Affairs, had all the advantages of Wit, and Beauty to ſo high a Degree, and with ſo many charms, and ſo generally liked, that nature ſeem'd to have been pleaſed to frame an accompliſh'd and perfect Work. But a Blemiſh, which is rarely or never ſeen in a Princeſs of this merit, ſomthing darkened theſe fair Qualities, which was far from preſcribing to thoſe who had a particular Adoration for her, ſhe transformed her ſelf ſo very much into their ſentiments that ſhe was not ſenſible of her own.

At this time the Prince *de Marcillac* had a place in her Affections, who joyning his ambition to his Love, inſpired her with a deſire of intermedling in Affairs, tho ſhe had a natural Averſion to it, and made uſe of the paſſion ſhe had to be reveng'd on Monſieur the Prince, to ſet the Prince of *Conty* againſt him. The Coadjutour was happy in his project, to ſee the Brother and Siſter diſpoſed to Unite themſelves with the *Frondeurs*, by a Treaty into which the Duke of *Longueville* was drawn, being puſh'd on with the Hopes that the Parliament would bring about his ill

grounded pretenſions to be a Prince of the Blood.

The Court ſeeing that the Deſigns of their Enemies, prevailed to that Height as openly to demand the Cardinals ruin, put all their hope in the Duke of *Orleans*, and Monſieur *le* Prince, and thought that their Union, with their Majeſties would reduce them into Order. Now becauſe the miſchief had taken ſuch deep root, that there was required a great deal of force to pluck it up, they judg'd that the temperate Nature of the Duke of *Orleans*, was not ſo proper, as that of Monſieur *le* Prince; which was incapable of all Moderation: Add to this, that his Reputation in the Wars, the Splendor of his Victories, the Forces of his Troops would ſtrike terrour into peoples minds, ſo that they applyed themſelves particularly to gain him, to eſpouſe a cauſe ſo juſt. The Queen to this end made uſe of very preſſing perſwaſions, to Wit, Tears, and moſt affectionate words, telling him that ſhe look'd upon him as her Third Son. The Cardinal promiſed him that he would all his life depend upon his Will. The King himſelf em-

bracing him, told him that he recommended to him the ſaftey of his State and Perſon. So that the Court conſider'd him, as the Principal Defender of its Fortune: but thoſe who determin'd him, were Marſhal *Gramont*, and *le Tellier*; by theſe or the like Arguments, they repreſented to him, that by little and little, the Parliament would Uſurp the whole Authority: That inſtead of bounding their Ambition within the Declaration of the 28 *October.* they would not only be judges of the Affairs of War, but alſo took upon themſelves a power to turn out the Miniſter, that at the ſame time they might ſet up a new one of their own chuſing, and further that frequent Mutations are Pernicious to Kingdoms, nay that it is ſometimes better to ſuffer an ill one, than to change him; that it is ten thouſand to one, but if an uſurpation, (the like whereof was never heard of till now) be tolerated, they will aſſault priviledg'd perſons and nothing be ſacred enough to ſecure it from Violation; by this licentiouſneſs, that the Counſellors would be in a fine Condition, if they ſhould impoſe Laws upon Kings and the Princes of the Blood, miſerable if they received them. That

this new practice ſhock'd the Monarchy, which is abſolute and independant, and contrary to the Conſtitutions of *France*, and even to the Inſtitutions of the Parliament; that if there be abuſes in the Kingdom, they ought to be reformed by the Aſſemblies of the General States; and not by the Decrees of a Company, whoſe ſuffrages are rather counted than weighed. That when ever the Parliament went beyond their Duty, they were ſeverely corrected, ſometimes by the late King, ſometimes by *Henry* the Fourth, and *Charles* the Ninth, and other Kings their Predeceſſors, upon occaſions leſs dangerous than this. That Great Kingdoms cannot be ſupported by remiſs Councils, but muſt give a proof of their Courage and ſtrength, and that the juſtice of Kings conſiſts in their Power. That He the Prince, was intereſted in the perſon of the Cardinal, to oppoſe an enterpriſe which tends to the Deſtruction of the Royal Family; and that if the Duke of *Orleans*, and his Highneſs would not ſtand in the Gap, the Queen would be forc'd to go with her Children, to Implore the Help of the Princes that were Allies to the Crown: Beſides, that Monſieur *le*

Prince

Prince muſt think that the Innovations made by the Parliament, ſince the Declaration wounded the Eſtabliſhment of the Peace.

Theſe Diſcourſes, which repreſented the thing very lively, made ſuch an Impreſſion on his Spirit, that he would not hear of a neutrality, without ever ſo much as thinking that he might loſe the peoples Affection. It is certain, that Great Minds, like this of Monſieur *le* Prince, produce great Vertues, but are eminent alſo for great Defects: By an Invincible Exceſs of Paſſion, he ruin'd all the Advantages Fortune had, even to Envy, added to his perſon, which were ſuch, that the would have ſurpaſſed the glory of the greateſt men in former Ages, if Piety, Juſtice, and Solidity had been anſwerable to that Exceſſive Valour, that incredible Conſtancy in Adverſities, and that ſparkling Wit which were remarkable in him. Monſieur *le* Prince might have rendred himſelf ador'd by all the World, if he could have manag'd himſelf with a deſign to have treated his Affairs with calmneſs; but inſtead of this he was forc'd by his raſh conduct to have re-

courſe to means, which brought him to ſtrange Extremities. He went with the Duke of *Orleans* to the Parliament, and puſh'd on by his ill Fate, as ſoon as *Viole* had invoked the *Holy Spirit* to illuminate the Princes in their Conſideration of the Cardinals Conduct, Monſieur *le* Prince roſe up and bid him hold his tongue; this inconſiderately raiſed a murmuring amongſt the Young Counſellors, with which he was fir'd into a paſſion, and threatned them with his hands and words. At this time he loſt the Affection of the Company, and when this Action was ſpread abroad, the eſteem his Victories gain'd him was chang'd into Fear, and the love of his Perſon into Hatred, not to ſay Exceration, from which he recovered not but by particular good Fortune.

And now being intereſted in a quarrel of his own, as well as of the Courts, he hearkned to all propoſitions that were made him for reducing the Parliament: They tell him that the ſpeedieſt and ſureſt way was to beſiege *Paris*, that by ſtoping all the Avenues, the people would be ſtarv'd in three Market days, and ſo riſe againſt the Parliament,

ment, and accuſe them of being the Authors of all their miſeries. In fine that the Pariſians were without any to head them, without Soldiers and accuſtomed to ſoft eaſe; he reliſh'd theſe Reaſons, which ſeemed ſtrong to him, becauſe animated by his Fury, to which nothing was impoſſible; ſo that he made himſelf the Head of the enterpriſe to beſiege *Paris*, under the command of the Duke of *Orleans*, who at firſt oppoſed this deſign; but the ſollicitations of the Queen, the perſwaſions of the Abbot *de la Riviere*, and the willful Reſolution of Monſieur *le* Prince, overr-ulled his own Opinion, and the contrary advice of the Dutcheſſe of *Orleans*: This being reſolved on, Monſieur *le* Prince and the Marſhal *de la Meilleraye*, propoſed (that they might gain their end more ſpeedily) to ſeiſe upon the Iſle of St. *Louis*, the Port St. *Antonie*, the *Arſenal*, and the *Baſtile*, and alſo to put their Majeſties in the *Baſtile*; but either becauſe this propoſition was not well enough grounded, or becauſe they were afraid of expoſing the Kings perſon, they rather choſe to quit *Paris*, than to beſiege it.

After

After his Majeſty had ſolemnized the Feſtival of the Epiphany, at the Marſhal *Gramont*'s Houſe, the King retired to the Cardinal's Palace, from whence he departed the next day at three a Clock in the Morning, with the Queen, Cardinal *Mazarin*, and all the Court, except Madam *de Longueil*, to go to *St. Germains*, whither the Nobility and all the Miniſters likewiſe came the ſame day, and preſently in a Council that was held, the Blocking up of *Paris* was Publiſh'd and talk'd of by all the Court.

This Departure, or rather Eſcape, was joyful News to the Factious, and was by no means approved of by wiſe Men, who eſteem'd it unbecoming Sovereign Dignity, which Princes ought to be jealous of, ſince the ſplendor of the name of King is the chief thing that awes the People into Reſpect.

The *Pariſians* were not ſo much ſtartled as was imagined they would be: on the contrary, as if they had taken courage from the condition they were in, they declared, That they were prepared for all the Conſequences that threatned them; and fear did not keep them

them from railing againſt the Cardinal, Monſieur le Prince, the Queen, and all thoſe whom they believed to have adviſed this departure, which they called a Rape of the King.

The Parliament appeared leſs conſtant in this accident, becauſe they foreſaw the Conſequences of it better, and after the firſt Aſſembly, they deputed ſome of the Kings Council to carry their Submiſſions and Offers, which, though very advantagious, yet were ſent back without being heard, ſo much was all the Court poſſeſſed with a vain hope that the *Pariſians* would yield too with a blind obedience upon the firſt Alarm of the Siege; but they were quickly undeceived, for the day after (which was the eighth of *January*) that the King's Council had made their Report, ſo that they could no longer queſtion the deſign of the Court, the Parliament declared the Cardinal an Enemy to the Government, and iſſued out Commiſſions to levy Soldiers; the Companies voluntarily taxed themſelves, they laid in abundance of Proviſions, and the people with a great deal of ardor ſtood to defend the City: So true is it that Fear often-

oftentimes begets Courage, and that nothing Arms the Hand more powerfully than Deſpair.

Notwithſtanding Monſieur le Prince, with ſix or ſeven thouſand Men, who were the remainder of the Army of the laſt Campaign, block'd up *Paris*, poſſeſſing themſelves of *Laigny*, *Corbeil*, *Saint Cloud*, *St. Denis*, and *Charenton*, a thing Poſterity will admire, but never believe, That he ſhould by his Conduct and Vigilance block up the greateſt and moſt populous City in *Europe*, when at the ſame time there were ſo many Princes and Lords in it, with an Army ſtronger than his. Now as the Court never wants Malecontents, the Duke *d'Elbeuf*, his three Sons, the Duke of *Briſac*, and the Marquiſs *de la Boulaye*, firſt offered themſelves to the Parliament, who had no ſooner inſtalled the Duke *d'Elbeuf* in the Office of General of the Army, but news was brought them that the Prince *de Conty* and the Duke *de Longueil*, accompanied with the Prince *de Marcillac* and *Normonſtier*, were that night privately come from *St. Germains*, and lighted at the *Hotel de Longueil*, who came to declare themſelves for the *Pariſians*,

riſians, according to the Agreement which they had made with the Coadjutor. This their ſudden arrival gave occaſion to ſome controverſy, which was ended by the nomination of the Prince of *Conty* for Generaliſſimo, and of the Duke *d'Elbeuf* for General, with whom the Duke *de Bouillion* and Marſhal *de la Motthe* were joined in equal power. Monſieur *de Longueil* would not take any Employment, but of aſſiſting the Prince of *Conty* by his Counſels, eſteeming himſelf above the laſt, and not able to be equal to the firſt. The Prince of *Conty* had great difficulty to juſtifie the ſincerity of his Intentions, becauſe the Publick, who were ignorant of the miſunderſtanding betwixt him and Monſieur *le Prince*, who was the real head of the Enterprize againſt *Paris*, could not think themſelves ſecure of him; even *Provoſt*, a Counſellor of the great Chamber, gave himſelf the liberty (as if this mutual Confederation againſt their Duty inſpired him with boldneſs) to be diſreſpectful to a Prince of the Blood, Nevertheleſs Madam *de Longueville* was required to live in the *Hotel de Ville*, to be an Hoſtage for the Fidelity of her Brother

her and Husband to the People, who naturally diſtruſt great Men, becauſe they are ordinarily the Victims of their Intereſt.

This departure of Monſieur *le Prince de Conty*, and of Monſieur *de Longueil*, from *St. Germains*, was a mighty ſurpriſe in it ſelf, but became much greater by raiſing a jealouſie that Monſieur *le Prince* was of the Party, which put the Queen and the Cardinal into extraordinary fears, though they were quickly removed by his return from *Charenton*. He ſtorm'd and was incenſed againſt them with the greater heat in this quarrel, that he might be reveng'd on his Relations, who he believed ought to depend abſolutely on his Will. 'Twas ſaid, That at this time the Cardinal reſolved to leave *France*, thinking it impoſſible for him to be ſafe in the midſt of all theſe Tempeſts, and deſtitute of ſupport. But the Prince encourag'd him, and engaged his honour to the Queen, That he would periſh, or bring him back to *Paris* triumphant over his Enemies. In the mean time the Party in the City got no ſmall ſtrength by the Declaration of a Prince of the Blood, whoſe

whoſe quality was of great conſequence in the Kingdom, and of another Prince who was almoſt abſolute in his Government of *Normandy*; the Marſhal *de la Motthe* alſo rendred himſelf conſiderable in the Army, and the Duke of *Bouillion* incomparably more ſo by the great Knowledge he had in the affairs of the World, and his ſtrict Alliance with his Brother Marſhal *Turenne*, who commanding at this time the Army in *Germany*, it was preſumed would Sacrifice his Duty to the raiſing of his Family, and to the Peak he had againſt the Cardinal. Monſieur le Prince indeed, who took theſe two Brothers for his Friends, wrote to the Duke *de Bouillion*, fearing leſt he ſhould think that the retreat of the Prince *de Conty*, and of *Longueil*, was contrived with his conſent, and therefore he was willing to undeceive him, and conjured him to return to *St. Germains*, where he would procure him all the ſatisfaction poſſible to his Intereſts. Monſieur *de Bouillion* ſhewed this Letter to the Parliament, and the Miniſters being informed, That Marſhal *Turenne* ſtood ill affected, the King and Monſieur le Prince, who had great Intereſt amongſt the Troops in *Germany*,

Germany, wrote to the Colonels to obſerve his Commands no further, and to abandon him, which took effect and was the ſafety of the Court.

At this time likewiſe the Duke of *Beaufort* arrived at *Paris*: He had abſconded in the Provinces beyond the *Loire* ſince his eſcape out of *Vincennes*, and found this favourable occaſion to ſet him up again in the World. He came to offer his ſervice to the Parliament, who cleared him from the Accuſation of having conſpired againſt the Life of Cardinal *Mazarin*, admitted him Peer of *France*, and made him one of their Generals. Now although his Genius was none of the moſt raiſed, yet his Preſence, his Language, and his popular Air, with a Conduct *adroit* enough, gain'd him the love of the People of *Paris*, and the rather, becauſe they thought him irreconcileable to the Cardinal for impriſoning him, from which he would never change till he was neceſſitated by the revolution of Affairs to be reconciled unto him. In the mean time the King's Army poſſeſſed all the Poſts about *Paris*, and though the Parliament were more in number, yet the Generals never made

made an attempt to open a Paſſage, inſomuch that the Proviſions came in with difficulty only by *Brie*; for Monſieur le Prince could not put a Gariſon in *Brie Comte Robert*, without dividing his Forces, and had alſo quitted *Charenton*, which the Prince *de Conty* poſſeſſed himſelf of, fortified, and put into it 3000 Men under the Command of *Canleu*.

This made Monſieur le Prince reſolve to attack this Poſt, which ſecured the Proviſions of the Pariſians, and alſo to give terror to his Arms. Thither therefore he went on the eighth of *February*, with the Duke of *Orleans* and all the Princes and Lords of the Court, and committed the Aſſault to the Duke *de Chatillon*, whilſt he himſelf went to an adjacent Hill to hinder all relief from *Paris*. The Duke executed his Orders with all the Valour poſſible, but at the laſt Barricade he received a Muſquet Shot through his Body, of which he died the next day, lamented by both Parties for his excellent qualities, in the flower of his age, and juſt upon his enjoyment of the Honours which his Services had acquir'd him. The taking of

this, as it very much diminiſh'd the Honour of the Generals and Forces of the Parliament, ſo it was lookt upon as miraculous in the Perſon of Monſieur le Prince, to have carry'd a place in the preſence of an Army, and at the Gates of *Paris*, from whence ten thouſand Men in Arms came out to be Witneſſes of it. This Battel, and thoſe of the *Bois de Vincennes*, of *Lagny* and *de Brie*, (in one whereof the young Duke of *Roban*, ſhewing himſelf the worthy Succeſſor of his Father's Vertue, loſt his Life) being all diſadvantageous to the Pariſians, inclined them to ſome thoughts of a Peace, which, notwithſtanding it was difficult to effect, becauſe of the different Intereſts in the Parliament, which hinder'd it. The number of thoſe who were diſaffected to a Peace, though inferior to the other, yet appeared more, becauſe they diſguiſed their Hatred and Ambition with the name of Publick Good and Safety, which is not to be found, ſaid they, in an agreement with the Cardinal. The more moderate durſt not ſhew their good intentions, becauſe (beſides the danger in doing ſo) they would have been eluded, and it was better to ſtay till the minds of the peo-

ple were a little wearied, & the ſtrength and hopes of the Party more weakned, before they declared themſelves. As for the People, the richer ſort would not expoſe themſelves to the Multitude, which having not ſuffered much from neceſſity, and being animated by ſome People of quality, was glad enough of this pretence for War, and cried out againſt ſuch as deſired a Peace. All the Generals (except Monſieur *de Beaufort*, who wholly devoted himſelf to an hatred of the Cardinal, and love of the People, whom he deſign'd to make uſe of afterwards) contrived their particular Reconciliation, and every one had his private Friends at Court to make his conditions better.

Monſieur *d'Elbœuf* held Correſpondence with the Abbot *de la Riviere* from the beginning; Monſieur *de Bouillon*, with Monſieur le Prince, and the Marſhall *de la Motthe* was engaged with the Duke *de Longueville*, who was retired into *Normandy*, where he fortified himſelf with Arms, Men, and Money, to make his Treaty more advantageous by the mediation of Monſieur le Prince. As to the Prince *de Conty*, becauſe he had no inclinations but what his Siſter inſpi-

red him with, who was cruelly affronted and ſlandered by the injurious diſcourſes of Monſieur le Prince about her Conduct, time alone muſt allay theſe heats, and the neceſſity of Affairs bring this Family to a reconciliation, as it quickly did. The Coadjutor only was the principal Promoter of this War, wherein he had but too much deſecrated his Character amidſt Sedition and Arms, which baniſh't from his mind all thoughts of Peace, and thwarted every thing that ſpoke in favour of it, becauſe he found not wherewith to ſatisfie his Ambition. On the other ſide the Court ſwell'd with good ſucceſs, and the glorious Warlike Actions of Monſieur le Prince, expected yet greater from him, and would impoſe too rigorous conditions on the contrary Party: ſo that apparent neceſſity was a Sovereign Law which determined both Parties to a Treaty of Peace, beſides that Civil war being contrary to the nature of all the World, every one was ready to return from his errors and animoſities, it being the humour of our Nation to become Dutiful with the ſame levity that it becomes Mutinous, and to paſs in a Moment from Rebellion to Obedience.

And

And now ſee the preſent occaſion that was offered. The King, on the 20th of *February*, ſent a Herald, clad with his Coat of Arms, his Staff cover'd with Flower-de-Luces, accompanied with two Trumpetters: He came to the Port *St. Honoré*, and ſaid, That he had three Pacquets of Letters to deliver to the Prince of *Conty*, to the Parliament, and to the City. The Parliament being advertis'd thereof, determin'd not to receive or give him Audience, but to ſend the King's Council to the Queen, to tell her, That their refuſal was purely a mark of Obedience and Reſpect, ſince Heralds were not ſent but to Sovereign Princes, or to Enemies; That the Prince of *Conty*, the Parliament, and the City, being neither, beſeeched her Majeſty to let them know her Pleaſure from her own mouth. The Kings Council were well received by the Queen, who told them, That ſhe was ſatisfied with their excuſes and ſubmiſſions, and that when the Parliament return'd to their Duty they ſhould experience the effects of her Kindneſs, and that the Perſons and Fortunes of every one in particular, not one excepted, ſhould find there their ſecurity. the Duke *d'Orleans*, and Mon-

ſieur le Prince gave them the ſame aſſurances. Many material reaſons were the cauſe that the Court was ſo ready to be indulgent; for beſides the conſtancy of the Pariſians, the difficulty of raiſing Men and Money, the Revolt of *Gaſcony*, *Provence*, and *Normandy*, and of many other Cities which followed the Parliament, as *Poictiers*, *Tours*, *Angiers*, and *Mant*, you muſt know there was yet a more preſſing Motive. The Prince of *Conty*, ſeeing that the Army in *Germany* had paſs'd the *Rhine* to come into *France* againſt Monſieur *Turenne*, and that his Party could not ſubſiſt without a powerful foreign Aid, had ſent the Marquiſs *de Noirmouſtier*, and *Laigues*, to the Arch-Duke, to invite him to joyn his Forces to the Party of *Paris*, to conſtrain the Miniſters to conclude a general Peace. The Spaniards reſolved not to ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity to foment our diviſions, and make an advantage thereof, either by a Treaty, or the continuation of the War. To this end the Archduke ſent a Deputy to the Parliament, who gave him Audience after he had delivered his Credentials, not without ſome blot to this Society, if neceſſity of defence

fence had not pleaded its excuſe. In his Audience he declared the Catholick King's joyning with this Company for a general Peace, which ſhould be the ſole end of his Forces Entry into *France*, and not to take advantage of the weakneſs of the Frontier, and that he found more ſecurity in treating with the Parliament than with the Cardinal, who had broke it, and who was a declared Enemy of the State: And indeed *Vaufourle*, ſent from the Court to the Miniſters of *Spain* in *Flanders*, to inſinuate ſome Propoſitions for a Peace, was not favourably heard, and they inclined to the Parliaments ſide, to relieve this Party which was going down the Wind; ſo that the Offers of the Archduke to the Faction of *Paris* (which he perform'd by his actual entry into *France*, (accompanied by the two Agents of the Prince of *Conty*, with fifteen or ſixteen thouſand Men) giving a juſt apprehenſion to the Court, made it ſuddenly reſolve to accommodate the affair of *Paris*. The Taxes were out; it was extreamly difficult to get Money; their Troops periſhed, either by the Avarice of the Officers, or for want of ſubſiſtance, or the diſſatisfaction of their Generals;

and their Arms grew into diſcredit. In fine, the minds of moſt were diſguſted, either becauſe they ſmarted under the inconvenience, or becauſe it is the nature of people to be ſoon wearied with a War which they undertook in paſſion. The Premiere Preſident, and the Preſident of *Meſme*, who had by conſent acted underhand with the Miniſters during all theſe commotions, managed with Addreſs theſe diſpoſitions to advance a Treaty for Peace; and as they were deputed, together with others, to carry to the Queen the Letter of the Arch-duke, and the Credentials of his Envoy, and to juſtifie the Company for having given him Audience, but withal to acquaint her, That they would not determine upon an Anſwer without knowing her Pleaſure, they had a Conference apart from the other Deputies with the Duke of *Orleans* and Monſieur le Prince, wherein they Treated for a Peace. When they were together, the Deputies inſiſting upon the opening of the Paſſages, the Princes promiſed them to open one as ſoon as the Parliament gave full power to their Deputies to Treat for a Peace. Now though this ſecret Conference made the Parliament, and the People, who were

were at the Door of the great Chamber, to murmur, yet the Premiere Preſident, who never wanted Conſtancy upon occaſion, nor Zeal for the publick Good, having ſaid, That it was only to get an Anſwer from the Queen, who was incenſed at the Company for having received the Spaniſh Envoy, perſuaded them to give a full Power, without the reſtriction of the Arreſt of *January* 18. againſt the Cardinal and foreign Miniſters, giving them in charge the Intereſts of the Generals, and the Parliaments of *Normandy* and *Provence*, who were Confederates with the Parliament of *Paris*, with whom the other Deputies for the Companies of the Chambers of Accounts, of the Courts of Aids, and of the *Hotel de Ville*, were joyned.

Whilſt this famous Deputation was in their way to St. *Germains*, their Majeſties and the two Princes had ſent ſome Perſons of Quality to the Queen of *England*, to condole the fatal Death of the King her Husband; and *Flammarin*, who was one of them, made a viſit from the Abbot *de la Riviere* to Prince *Marcillac*, who lay Sick of a Wound which he received in the Fight at the *Brie Comte Robert*;

Robert; The Count *de Grancey*, in this Visit, made some secret Overtures advantagious to the Prince of *Conty*, namely that he should be admitted into the Council, and have a strong place in *Champaine*, provided that he would agree to an accommodation, and desist from his nomination to the Cardinalship in favour of this Abbot. This Proposition, made with the consent of Monsieur le Prince, who desired to reunite the two Families, was approved of by Monsieur *de Marcillac*, and soon after by the Duke *de Longueville*, and the Prince of *Conty*. At this time the Duke *de Longueville* was perswaded by Monsieur le Prince to retard his Supplies for *Paris*, and to Treat with the Court upon a Promise of the *Pont de l'Arche*, and a great Charge, for which he was his Surety. Monsieur *de Bouillon* had also some assurances given to him and Monsieur *Turenne* by Monsieur *le Prince*, but either because he did not very much confide in him, or because he entertained other hopes, he put all the obstacles he could to the conclusion of the Peace: So rare is Fidelity in Civil War to the mutual tyes and correspondencies which are found amongst People of different Parties,

Parties, and there are always particular Treaties which precede the general one, becauſe the ſecret Agreements of heads ſo conſiderable, ſeeming to preſerve only a reſpect for their Party, neceſſitate the moſt Zealous to acquieſce in the Peace, or to ſhew a ſhameful weakneſs.

Notwithſtanding the Conferences at *Ruel* had like to have broke up, upon the Queens nomination of the Cardinal for a Deputy in conjunction with the two Princes: Thoſe of the Parliament not being willing to admit him, becauſe he had been condemned, they therefore made uſe of this expedient, to negotiate by two Deputies for each Party, which were the Chancellor and *le Tellier* for the Court, and the Preſident *Coigneux* and *Viole* for the Parliament. At laſt, after many Debates and Conteſts, they agreed upon a Peace, wherein, though the Cardinal was preſerved, yet he complain'd to the Princes that he was put *ſub haſtâ* (as it was term'd in ancient *Rome*) that is, ſet to ſale, and that they had made him reſtore his Moveables and Habits, Clothes ſold by an Arreſt of Parliament. This neceſſity appeared to them little important, in reſpect to the Ne-

Neceſſity they lay under becauſe of the approach of the *Spaniſh* Army. The principal Articles were, that they ſhould ſend back the Deputy of the Arch-Duke without an Anſwer, a general pardon for all the Party, all the Declarations and Arreſts ſince the ſixth of *January* to be repealed and annull'd, and the Semeſtres of the Parliaments of *Normandy* and *Provence*, ſuppreſſed upon certain conditions: Thoſe who were Enemies to this Peace, took a pretence from ſome of the Articles to decry it, eſpecially the Coadjutor, who was incenſed, that the War which was here begun by him, ſhould be concluded without him; and that inſtead of all the Advantages which his Ambition had fancied to him, he reaped nothing but the ſhame of having labored to ſubvert the State.

He was ſtrictly aſſociated with the Duke *de Beaufort*, whoſe credit he made uſe of in all Occurrences; and in this he forgot nothing to render the Treaty odious to the People, the Parliament and the Generals: He repreſented to them, that this War being made onely to remove the Cardinal, he was nevertheleſs preſerved by this Peace; even the Arreſt

reſt of the eighth of *January* againſt him and Foreign Miniſters was revoked, and then where is the fruit of ſo much pains and ſufferings, and will not the Parliament fall under the Peoples contempt by ſuch a remiſsneſs? And alſo that the Generals abandoned themſelves to their private Intereſts in prejudice to the Union, but that which with ſome ſhew of reaſon exaſperated them moſt, was, that the Cardinal ſigned the Treaty, the greateſt part ſaying, That he having ſigned it, it became null, becauſe the Conference was againſt him, and that there was reaſon to wonder that the Deputies ſhould ſuffer a condemned man to confer and to ſign with them. He and his Emiſſaries, by ſuch like Diſcourſes, provoked the Parliament and People, who threatned the Deputies with the utmoſt Extremities. As ſoon as the Premiere Preſident began to read the verbal Proceſs, and the Articles in the Aſſembly of the Chambres, he was hindred by the great clamours and murmurs of the Councellors, and the complaints of the Generals. But the wiſeſt part of the Parliament, either ballancing the Inconveniencies of a Civil War, with the hardneſs of the Articles, or becauſe they perceived

ceived that it was the Ambition of the Coadjutour, and of ſome particular perſons that inſpired them with this averſeneſs, judged the Peace neceſſary. The Company thought of ſending back the ſame Deputies to St. *Germain*, to reform the three Articles without ſpeaking of the Cardinal, and to treat of the Intereſts of the Generals, who ſhould be inſerted into the ſame Declaration.

This pretty mild Advice was propoſed by *Brouſſel*, and for that reaſon followed by the *Frondeurs* and the *Mazarins*, not without ſome (it may be, unjuſt) ſuſpition, that a ſecret promiſe of the Government of the *Baſtile*, had at this time mollifyed the good man, ſo few are there who are proof againſt the charms of Intereſt! When the Coadjutor ſaw that the Parliament in the Reformation of the Article, did not inſiſt againſt the Cardinal, he perſwaded the Prince of *Conty* to ſend ſome one from him, and the reſt of the Generals to the Conference at St. *Germain*, (which was held principally for the Intereſt of the Generals) to propoſe, that they would renounce all their pretentions (provided that the Cardinal would reſign up the Mi-

Miniſtry of State) and at the ſame time to beg the Parliament to order their Deputies to inſiſt upon that in conjunction with them. To this end, the Prince ſent the Count *de Maure* to St. *Germain*, and asked the company to joyn with him, who granted it: But becauſe there was no mention made thereof in the firſt Treaty, and alſo that the Duke *de Briſſac*, *Barriere*, and *Crecy*, the Deputies of the Generals had made other Propoſitions for their Intereſts, and becauſe they had already taſted of the Fruits of the Peace, by the reſtauration of Traffick, and the Ceſſation of all Acts of Hoſtility. The Queen and Princes anſwered to the preſſing Inſtances of the Count *de Maure*, that they would never conſent to remove the Cardinal, and that the pretenſions of the Generals either were Acts of Grace, Favour, or were due in Juſtice, that thoſe in Juſtice due ſhould be preſerved for them; but for ſuch as were only Acts of Favour, they ſhould be conferred on ſuch as deſerved them moſt, and depend purely on her Majeſties pleaſure: So that all their pretenſions being for the moſt part ill grounded, came to nothing; and there was only the Prince *de Conty* who had *Danvilliers*, the Duke *de*

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Longueville who had the *Pont de l'Arche*, and *Bruſſel* who had the *Baſtile*, which alſo was not performed till ſome time after, and ſome arrears of Penſions put into the Bargain. As to the Parliament, it was ſatisfied with the Reformation of the three Articles which the Deputies demanded, and Her Majeſty diſpenſed with their coming to St. *Germains*, where ſhe was to keep her ſeat of Juſtice. The Deputies came to *Paris*, where the Chambers being aſſembled, the Kings Declaration for a Peace was ratified, and it was Ordered, That their Majeſties ſhould be thank'd for the Peace they had been pleaſed to give their Subjects.

This was the end of the War, wherein neither Party having got the better of the other, neither of them obtained what they at firſt propoſed to themſelves. For the Parliament and the Cardinal remained in their former ſplendor, and the preſent ſtate of Things was not at all chang'd, notwithſtanding the Peace which for ſome time put a period to all the Horrors of a Civil War, was receiv'd with an univerſal Joy, except amongſt ſuch as grow ſick of publick Tranquility, and have no way to advance themſelves but

but by Factions, and eſtabliſh their Safety and Fortunes in the Shipwrack of others. But the Fire of Civil War was not quite extinguiſh'd by this Peace of the Parliament, it ſoon after kindled again, and flam'd out with more violence in the principal Provinces of the Kingdom. And certainly, it was difficult for the Queen to pay an Acknowledgement proportionable to the great Services which Monſieur *le Prince* had done her, and for Monſieur *le Prince* to contain himſelf within a dutiful Modeſty, after having ſo uſefully ſerved her: for Debts of this nature being almoſt impoſſible to be paid, ordinarily produce hatred in the mind of the Soveraign, and at the ſame time inſpire Subjects with thoughts of domineering, which are not to be endured: Now as the Cardinal had chiefly reap'd the fruit of Monſieur *le Prince*'s aſſiſtance, ſo he was the moſt expoſed to his complaints, demands, menaces, and ill humour.

Sometime before the Troubles, the Cardinal deſiring to eſtabliſh the Seat of his Fortune in *France*, that he might ſtrengthen himſelf by great Alliances, caſt his eyes upon the Duke *de Mercœur*,

whom he deſign'd to marry to one of his Nieces; he gave him leave to come to Court, and the Duke *de Vendoſme* to return to one of his Houſes; and alſo gave over perſecuting the Duke *de Beaufort*. This made the more quick-ſighted judge, the Cardinal, who foreſaw how burthenſome the protection of Monſieur *le Prince* would in time be to him, attempted all poſſible ways to make a ſhift without it; and yet he hoped by appeaſing the Diſcontents of the Regency, and getting new ſupports, to free himſelf from depending upon him. This project was interrupted by the War, and ſet on foot again ſoon after the Peace, when the Court being at *Compeigne* where the Duke *de Vendoſme* was. The Cardinal omitted no care to make it take effect: The Queen ſpoke of it to Monſieur *le Prince*, who durſt not contradict the Propoſal, either becauſe he foreſaw not, or ſlighted the conſequence; or rather, becauſe he feared the Breach that would happen upon this refuſal. But Monſieur *de Longuevil* (who was reſtored to his Brothers favor, and had greater power over him than before) induced by reaſons which reſpected his own pleaſures more than

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the advantage of Monſieur *le Prince*; let him ſee the Cardinals intention, exaggerating his Ingratitude for allying himſelf with the Houſe of *Vendoſme*, which was an enemy to his. And indeed, Monſieur *le Prince* was ſo very much touched with his Diſcourſes, that, contrary to the Rules of Policy, he kept not himſelf within bounds when he ſpoke of the Cardinal, and ſpared no Ralleries and Invectives againſt his Perſon, and the intended Marriage. The Cardinal, to whom this procedure was not unknown, complained mightily of the oppoſition which Monſieur *le Prince* made againſt the Marriage of his Niece, which the Duke *de Mercœur*, ſince he oppoſed not the Marriage of *Madamoiſelle d'Angouleſme* with Monſieur *de Joyeuſe*, affecting by this compariſon an equality which was then unſeaſonable: So that their hearts being exaſperated one againſt another, Suſpitions, Jealouſies, and evil Reports, which Courtiers are ſeldom niggards of, in the diſſentions of the Cabinet Council, incenſed them more, and produced very different thoughts of Revenge. For Monſieur *le Prince* ſatisfied himſelf with Contempts, which are frequently Impotent, whil'ſt the Cardi-

nal with a deep Silence, made great preparatives, and laid foundations for his Ruine; but notwithſtanding, both of them ſhew'd very little coldneſs, yet this Alienation took its original from the ſtrict and daily communication that they paſs'd betwixt them during the War; by which (as it is ordinary enough for eſteem to be leſſened by familiarity, which diſcovers all intirely and without reſerve, chiefly in the Exerciſes of good or ill Fortune) the Prince loſt a great deal of the Reſpect which he once had for the Cardinal; and being no longer reſtrained by the awe of his tottering Power, playd upon his defects before the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Cardinals confidents. Theſe, with little fidelity to either of them, after having made their Court to Monſieur *le Prince*, gave an account of his bitter Railleries to the Cardinal; the remembrance whereof gives ſpurs to his Revenge, and will never be blotted out of his mind. Beſides, the Cardinal diſcovered, that he could not firmly rely upon the Friendſhip of Monſieur *le Prince*, who was rather governed by his capriciouſneſs, than by reaſon and his intereſts; and that this ſcornful humour, inſtead of being

ing reſtrained, increaſed daily; ſo that not being able to gain him over, he reſolved to ruine him. Add to this, that Concord and Power being incompatible in the ſame place, the Cardinal could not brook a Superior at Court, nor the Prince an Equal: But that which entirely broke off the Bond of Friendſhip betwixt them, was, That the Cardinal being juſtly enough perſwaded, that he could not engage Monſieur *le Prince* to perſevere in his Intereſts, but by pretences of new Eſtabliſhments, did either by himſelf, or by his Creatures, make him ſome Propoſals, with the hopes whereof he entertain'd him for ſome time, but at laſt eluded them. The Prince enlightned enough by his own Judgment, and it may be by thoſe of his Acquaintance, perceived the Cardinals inſincerity, which he no longer doubted of after ſuch a Rencounter as this that follows.

The Cardinal having put Monſieur *le Prince* upon gaining *le Montbelliard*, and having ſent *d'Herval* on a pretence to Treat thereof, but with private Orders to conclude nothing, *d'Herval* advertiſ'd Monſieur *le Prince* thereof, who

could not diſſemble it; and following the Spaniſh Proverb, *Deſpues quæ te erré nunca bien te quieſe:* and it was no wonder, if the Cardinal being jealous that Monſieur *le Prince* would not fail to revenge himſelf, deſign'd to prevent him, even at the coſt of thoſe great Obligations which he had to him, ſeeing that in matter of Policy all means proper to preſerve Authority, provided they be ſure, are reputed Honeſt and Lawful.

From this Diſcourſe it is eaſie to ſee that the Cardinal was willing to make uſe of all the events to throw Monſieur *le Prince* upon Precipices, and thus it proceeded. The Peace not being yet declared, it was judged inconvenient to the wellfare of the State, as well of the Provinces, as of the Frontiers, for the King to return to his Capital City. The Miniſters could not reſolve ſo quickly to put themſelves amongſt a provoked Multitude which they had but juſt before Beſieged; and becauſe the Campaign drew near, it was made a pretence to go to the Frontiers, there to prepare for ſome conſiderable Enterpriſe, that in the interim Time might calm their Spirits, and the remembrance of things paſt

paſt be worn out. And indeed, their Majeſties and the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Council went to *Compeigne*, but Monſieur *le Prince* thinking it would be for his Reputation to ſhew himſelf to a People, who had laid ſo many Curſes upon him, came to *Paris*, and ſhew'd himſelf in the Streets alone in his Coach: there he attracted the Reſpect and Fear, rather then the Reſentments of the People: So much doth Valour charm even thoſe whom it wounds: The greateſt part of the Parliament, and the principal of the Party viſited him; for five or ſix days after which, he returned to the Court, where the Joy the Cardinal had to ſee the way to *Paris* made open for him, was allayed by a jealouſie over the leaſt of his Actions. At his arrival, the Cardinal deſiring to remove ſo dangerous a Rival, propoſed to him the Command of the Army of *Flanders*, which he would not accept, becauſe he had taſted the pleaſure of Ruling in the Cabinet Council: He had alſo a deſign to go to his Government in *Burgundy*, to pacifie the Troubles in *Guyenne* and *Provence*, which were up in Arms becauſe of a miſ-underſtanding betwixt the Governours and the Parliaments: But the Car-

dinal and *la Riviere* did what they could to hinder his Mediation (to the Authority whereof, the parties concern'd referred their Differences) for fear it ſhould give any addition to his Power. During this ſtay at *Compeigne*, the Prince *de County*, the Dukes of *Nemours* and *de Candale*, Monſieur *le Prince* and Marſhal *de Turennes*, who had ſtruck in again with all people of Quality, repaired to him, when they were in company, and full of Mirth, he never diſſembled his contempt of the Cardinal and the Duke of *Vendoſme*, and the averſion he had to the Marriage of the Duke de *Mercœur*; nay, even went ſo far as to railly the Royal Authority, whereof he had but juſt before been the ſtrongeſt ſupport, but rather out of a hatred to the Cardinal, than out of any deſign he had to Raiſe his own upon the Ruines of that.

This manner of Behaviour from that time, gave the Cardinal ſome thoughrs of attempting againſt his Liberty, if he durſt have put them in Execution; but amongſt many Reaſons which reſtrained him, that of his Friendſhip with the Duke of *Orleans*, was an obſtacle to this De-

Deſign : For Monſieur *le Prince* had in the late Affairs treated his Royal Highneſs after ſuch a manner, that he took off all the Envy that his extraordinaay Reputation might create in him, by particular Honors and Reſpects, in leaving to him the outward marks of Command. Add, that the Abbot *de la Riviere*, to whom he promis'd that the Prince *de Conty* ſhould not traverſe his Nomination, was a certain Security for his Maſters Affection. Monſieur *le Prince* left *Compeigne* with this good underſtanding betwixt them, to go to his Government : The Cardinal took his leave of him very well attended, as if he was afraid to truſt his Life with him who had ventur'd his for his preſervation, ſo frail are the tyes and friendſhips of the Court, and the leaſt Accidents expoſe them to the greateſt Changes. At parting, he deſired the Commander of *Souvrè*, *le Tellier*, and others of the Cardinals Confidents, and charged *Marbille* his own Servant to tell him, That he could not be his Friend, if he thought of this Marriage. The Cardinal being vexed at the heart to ſee himſelf conſtrained to publiſh to the World, a dependance ſo ſubmiſſive, as if the Will of Monſieur *le Prince* was the only

only Rule to which he muſt conform his Intereſts, defended himſelf from it with vehemence enough; alledging, That having imparted this Allyance, approved by the Queen and his Royal Highneſs, to *Rome*, and all the Princes of *Italy*, he could not deſiſt from it without ſhame and diſhonor: So that being ballanc'd betwixt the Reputation of the World, and the fear of Monſieur *le Prince*, he could not reſolve either to break off, or to conclude this Marriage: but following the Genius of his own Nation, which was very Aſcendant in him, he waited the benefit of Time. In the mean while we were obliged to ſend out an Army into the Field, to deface the Infamy of our Civil Wars, and raiſe the Reputation of our Affairs. A ſtrong Army was ſet out, made up of the Troops of *Germany*, (with which a Peace was juſt before concluded) whereof *Comte d'Harcourt* was the General, who had orders to lay Siege to *Cambray*. This Succeſs, beſides the Publick Intereſt, was of advantage to the Cardinal, who intended to reeſtabliſh himſelf in his ancient Luſtre by a glorious Conqueſt; with the thoughts whereof he was the more pleaſed, becauſe Monſieur *le Prince* had no hand either in the

the Deſign or the Execution; alſo to make the Honor of it more entirely his own, he went himſelf from *Amiens*, where the King was, to the Siege, rather out of Oſtentation, than for any good effect that it had, contenting himſelf to diſtribute ſome Preſents of little value, which ſerved only to diſcredit him in the Army, and expoſe him to their publick Railleries: But his Fortune look'd upon him with an evil Eye this year, *Cambray* was relieved, and this Enterpriſe turned to his diſhonor.

This Event raiſed the Party of *Paris*, and revived their Violence, though they were always actuated with the ſame Animoſity againſt the Cardinal. For he having made no endeavors to gain the Coadjutor, the Duke *de Beaufort*, *Longueil*, and the moſt in credit with them, they kept up (notwithſtanding the Peace) the Peoples and the Parliaments hatred againſt him, as quick and active as in the time of the War, that hereby they might render themſelves neceſſary at the Kings return to *Paris*, and make their Conditions better; even the Prince *de Conty*, by the advice of Prince *de Marcillac*, though that which

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was agreed upon in his favor at the Peace, was fully performed, forbore not to head this Party, and to ſhew himſelf the Cardinals enemy, that he might by this render himſelf more conſiderable.

Beſides, He being intirely devoted to the Will and Pleaſure of Monſieur *le Prince*, who by his power procured for him *Danvilliers*, and brought him into the Council: it was for their mutual Intereſt, that he ſhould keep up his credit at *Paris*, during all the Storms at Court. So that at this time the Kings Authority was as little reſpected as before the War, becauſe its only ſupport is Fear or Admiration, both which were loſt: and the Publick were no leſs violent againſt the Chief Miniſter, expecting that he ſhould become ſenſible of the little Power he had ſince he broke with Monſieur *le Prince*: Notwithſtanding, as he wanted not ſuch who by falſe Flatteries ſuggeſted to him, that the Party of *Paris* was baffled, even in *Paris* it ſelf, and that his prevailed there: he made a tryal thereof by *Jarzé*, who received an affront from Monſieur *de Beaufort* at the *Jardin de Renard*, wherein the Duke *de Candalle*, *Boutellier*, and other

ther Perſons of Quality, were concerned: hereupon ſome Challenges followed, which went no further than the diſarming of Monſieur *de Beaufort*: A Rencounter which ſtirred up all the *Fronde* into an almoſt univerſal Inſurrection againſt the Cardinal and his Partiſans: Then the Cardinal being undeceived of all the Errors they had perſwaded him into, and foreſeeing that (how averſe ſoever he was to it) he could not prolong the Kings return to *Paris*, who was preſſed to go by the Princes, and the neceſſity of Affairs, wholly employed his Thoughts upon what might contribute to his ſafety: with reſpect to the Prince *de Conty* and Monſieur *de Longueil*, he engaged his Word to Prince *de Marcillac*, to procure him the Honors of the *Louvre*, which the greateſt Families in the Kingdom enjoy: He forgot no promiſes to the Dutcheſs *de Montbaſon*, who had an entire and abſolute Authority over the Duke *de Beaufort*. He at this time promiſed the Superintendency to the Preſident *de Maiſons*, Brother to *Longueil*: and as to the Coadjutor, he being in League with the Marqueſs *de Noirmouſtier*, *de Laigues*, and the Dutcheſs *de Chevereuſe*, who in he Troubles returned

turned from her Exile in *Flanders* to *Paris*, the Cardinal enter'd into a Conference with her upon his account, ſo that the Upholders of this party being cool'd by his Treaties with them, were glad enough to cover the weakneſs of their credit, which would have appeared, if they had attempted to oppoſe the concurrence of ſo great a number as deſired the Kings preſence at *Paris*.

But the Cardinal, though he ſtood in need of the ſupport of Monſieur *le Prince* for his re-eſtabliſhment, yet (either becauſe he believed he could make a ſhift without him, by the means of theſe new Practices, or indeed becauſe he could no longer endure the Yoke of his Obligations which he thought lay too heavy upon him) kept only a civil correſpondence with him during his abſence, treating him like a ſuſpected Friend. Monſieur *le Prince*, to ſay the truth, now ſaw the proſperities of the Court, for which he was before ſo blindly paſſionate, not without ſome regret, he was vexed at the Siege of *Cambray*, and was glad when he heard it was raiſed. The troubles of *Guyenne* and *Provence*, with the difficulties of the Kings re-

return to *Paris*, pleas'd him well enough and the more, becauſe he ſaw into the Cardinals Intentions, who thought of nothing but how to ſurmount the preſent Obſtacles, and to regain an abſolute and independent Authority; nevertheleſs, he fomented not his Diſcontents either in private or publick, as if he had a mind to let his Reſentment ſleep awhile, that it might afterwards break out with the greater Violence: On the contrary, upon his return from *Burgundy* to *Paris*, before he had ſeen the Court, he powerfully ſollicited his Friends to receive the King with the Cardinal, and teſtified the ſame earneſtneſs as if it had been for his own Intereſts; it may be, becauſe he took a pride to perfect ſo glorious a Work as that of re-eſtabliſhing him; or becauſe he vainly flatter'd himſelf, that ſo great a Service would be always preſent to the Eyes of the Queen.

He ſtaid till the Court returned to *Compeigne*, where he receiv'd more Demonſtrations of Friendſhip than when he went from thence, either to make him remit ſomething of his averſeneſs to the Marriage, which was the fatal cauſe of

of their diviſion; or rather, that he might act with his wonted vehemency at the Kings return to *Paris*, which was look'd upon by all the Provinces as the Seat of the Empire.

When the King made his Entry with the Queen, and all the Royal Family in the ſame Coach, the Cardinal was in one of the Boots with Monſieur *le Prince*, who by his Preſence encouraged him againſt thoſe Fears which he might juſtly apprehend, when he ſaw himſelf in the midſt of an incredible Croud of People who had ſo much horror for his Perſon; but only the joy of ſeeing the King again, poſſeſſed every mans mind, whence they baniſhed all thoughts of the late Troubles and Enmities: When their Majeſties were come to the Palais Royal, they accepted the Submiſſions of the Duke *de Beaufort*, and the Coadjutor; and Monſieur *le Prince* concluded ſo fair a Journey, with telling the Queen, That he thought himſelf happy ſince he had now fulfill'd his promiſe which he made to bring the Cardinal back to *Paris*: Her Majeſty anſwer'd, "Sir, This Ser-'vice that you have done the State, is ſo 'great, that the King and my Self would 'be

'be ungrateful, if we ſhould ever hap-'pen to forget it. A Servant of Monſieur *le Prince*'s who heard this Diſcourſe, ſaid, That he trembled to think of the Greatneſs of this Service, and feared that this Complement would one day be look'd upon as a Reproach. Monſieur *le Prince* anſwer'd, I don't doubt it, but I have done what I promis'd.

The Retreat of the Duke de Longueville *to his Government of* Normandy, *during the War of* Paris, 1649.

AS the Duke *de Longueville* was going into the Old Palais, he met with Monſieur *de St. Luc*, who was ſent to St. *Germains* to the Marqueſs *d'Hectot*, to endeavor to bring him over again to the Court Intereſt: He told him, with a Countenance full of Joy, *St. Luc*, It is not long ſince I hated you mortally; and I Sir, anſwered *St. Luc*, hate you no leſs at preſent than you then hated me: If I had not been deceived, You would not have been here; and if you had not been deceived firſt, I ſhould not have

been ſuffer'd there. This ſhort Diſcourſe being ended, Monſieur *de Longueville* deſign'd to go to the Parliament, which was met to conſult, whether they ſhould receive him or no. Some of his Friends were againſt his going, alledging, That he both expos'd himſelf and the Party; ſome were ſent up to the top of a high Tower, to obſerve how the People ſtood affected; and when it was told him that they heard ſhouts of Joy on every ſide, he immediatly went out accompanied with thoſe that attended him, and preſented himſelf at the Palais: After having received a thouſand Acclamations all the way as he paſs'd, he ſurpriſed the Gentlemen of the Parliament, who never thought of ſo unexpected an Adventure, and after having taken his Place, ſpake after this manner, "Having always 'very much honored and loved you, I 'am come with all the Danger that a Man 'of my Quality can expoſe himſelf to, 'to offer you my Eſtate and my Life for 'your preſervation: I know that the 'greateſt part of Governors do not uſe 'to do ſo, but when they have reaped 'all the Benefits of your Services, that 'they could get from you in a time of 'Peace, they abandon you as ſoon as 'they

'they ſee you in Danger: As for me, who 'have a thouſand Obligations to you, I 'pretend here to acknowledge them, 'both as a Governor, and as a Perſon 'ſenſibly obliged, I come to do you all 'the Service I am capable of in a Con-'juncture ſo dangerous. The Primier Preſident making no anſwer to this Speech, and ſhewing by the trouble in his looks how much the Preſence of the Duke afflicted him, all the Gentlemen gave him Teſtimonies of their Joy, who were animated by the mouth of a Counſellor of the Great Chamber, called Monſieur—— who made him this fine Speech: "The ſame difference which 'was betwixt the Wolf and the Shep-'herd, Moſt Courteous Prince, is ob-'ſervable betwixt the Count *d'Harcourt* 'and your Highneſs on ſuch occaſions as 'theſe; the Count *d'Harcourt* came ei-'ther like a Wolf, or like a Lion, but al-'ways like a ravenous Beaſt to devour 'us; we would not open the Doors to 'him, for fear of receiving an enemy in-'to our Bowels; we in favor let him take 'a turn about our Walls, which he did, 'caſting on us Eyes all ſparkling with an-'ger, *tanquam Leo rugiens*: For you, 'Great Prince, you are come like a true

'Shepherd to ſhelter all your Flock, *Bo-*
'*nus paſtor ponit animam pro ovibus ſuis* :
'It is too true that you do ſo, *atque ideo*,
'*Mon Seigneur*, we commit to you the
'keeping of this City, and the ſafety of
'all the Province; it is your part to be
'careful of our Preſervation, and ours
'to help your Cares with all the aſſi-
'ſtance that is in our power. The Speech being ended, Monſieur *de Longueville* roſe up, and after he had ſaluted every one in particular with his ordinary Affableneſs, went out of the Palais, accompanied by his Friends and followed by the People, who conducted him with new Acclamations.

The Gentlemen of the Parliament reflecting upon the Joy which the Burgeſſes expreſſ'd to ſee their Governor, began to fear an abſolute Slavery; and to hinder this Calamity, deſigned to make their terms with him: but whether Monſieur *de Longueville* perceived their Intention, or becauſe he would bring them into an intire confidence in him, he was willing to prevent, and to aſſure them, That they ſhould always have the diſpoſal of every thing. He told them, That the Affairs he was about,

bout, were properly the Parliaments and not his own; that he desired not, nor ought to have any other Imployment, then to lead an Army for the good of the State, and their particular Services; that all the Taxes should be made by their Orders; that they themselves should establish Commissioners of their Company for the Receipt and Distribution of the Publick Treasure; and in fine, as they had the principal Concern in the success of Affairs, it was reasonable that they should have a share in all the Counsels. These Gentlemen gave him Thanks for the Honor he had done them; assured him, That they would issue out as many Arrests as he would, without examining any thing; that being the Kings Tutors, they would at their pleasure dispose of their Pupils Estate; that they would hazard every thing for his Service, on condition that he would suppress the *semestre*, & reduce the Company to their antient State. The Primier President and the Advocate-General, finding that they could do the King no Service, went to St. *Germains*, to give an account how little Power they had.

In the interim Monſieur *de Longuevill*, who ſaw himſelf ſure of the People and the Parliament, thought of nothing but raiſing an Army: And though he had yet laid no Foundation, he would always be diſtributing Offices to amuſe the People, and they began to Marſhal an Army which was but then in imagination: The moſt Conſiderable of them being Aſſembled, he gave them thanks for the Zeal they reſtifi'd in his Service; that for his part, He would all his Life acknowledge the Affection of thoſe that did adhere to his Fortune; and in the mean time, That he might oblige them by Eſſential Favors, he was ready to confer upon them the moſt important Imployments that he had. At theſe ſweet Words, all thoſe Illuſtrious Perſons made their profound Reverences: Some time after was ſpent in Complements, which inſenſibly ended in aſſurances of Fidelity and Proteſtations, to ſpill the laſt drop of their Blood. Afterwards, there paſs'd many fine Diſcourſes of the preſent ſtate of Affairs, and ſome poſſeſſed with a zeal for the Party, propoſed this weighty Advice: Why, ſaid they, ſhould we not ſtrike the Iron while it is hot? You have, Sir, a great many of the

the Nobility about you, and a great many young Men in the City; you may make a Body of Gentlemen, another of their *Valet de Chambres*; to which you may joyn the *Cinquantain* and your Guards, two great Battalions of the beſt Burgeſſes, and with theſe Troops ſurpriſe the King at *St. Germains*: Yes, anſwered Monſieur *de Longuevill*: it ſhall be ſo; but being it is our principal Enterpriſe, we muſt conſider how to carry it on well, we will talk of it in our firſt Conſult: In the interim, to avoid Confuſion, which ordinarily ruines all Parties, we muſt diſtribute the Offices, that every one may be aſſured of his Imployment. *Varricarville* refuſed to take any, having read in a Rabby, who adviſed him to feed upon Herbs, That a Man ſhould not embaraſs himſelf with any buſineſs, notwithſtanding his averſion to the Favorites not ſuffering him to be uſeleſs upon theſe occaſions, he would needs take care of the Politick part, and regulate all things according to the Memoirs of the Prince of *Orange*: But as there always happens a hundred Misfortunes, he had forgot at *Paris* a Manuſcript of Count *Maurice*, from whence he took all his great Notions for the Ar-

tillery and Proviſions, which probably was the reaſon that there was neither Ammunition nor Bread in this Army. *Saint-Ibal* beg'd the honor of bringing in Enemies into *France*, and 'twas anſwer'd, That the Generals of *Paris* would reſerve it for him: He demanded a full Power to treat with the *Polanders*, *Tartars*, and *Moſcovites*, and the entire diſpoſal of all Chimerical Affairs, which was granted him. The Count *de Fieſque*, fertil in Military Viſions (beſides the charge of Lieutenant General which he had from the *Pariſians*) obtain'd a particular Commiſſion for the beating up of Quarters, and other ſuddain and brisk Exploits, which might be reſolved on with ſinging of a Ballet, or Dancing a ſtep or two. The Marqueſs *de Beuvron* was made Lieutenant General, on condition that he would ſtay at the Old Palais, the Place and Government both being of ſo great Importance, that they could not be preſerved with too great care. The Marqueſs *de Matignon*, always remarkable for his Conceitedneſs, and at preſent famous for the memorable Siege of *Vallongne*, commanded the Troops of *Conſtantine*, ſaying, That he would have his little Army,

Army,& depend upon Monſieur *de Longueville*,no more than *Walſten* did on the Emperor. The Marqueſs *d'Hectot* begged the Command of the Cavalry, which was given him, becauſe he was better Mounted then the reſt, and was about the age of Monſieur *de Nemours* when he Commanded it in *Flanders*, and had an embroider'd Coat exactly like his. *Anſonville* was choſen Governor of *Roan*, becauſe he was a Man that very civilly underſtood War, and as fit to harangue the People Soldier-like, as *le Pleſis-Beſanſon*. The Governor was made Marſhal *de* Camp, that he might not be under the Command of others; and the Marſhal *de* Camp was made Governor, that he might not be oblig'd to leave the City, ſo that one of his Maxims was, That he ought not to ſtir out upon any account whatſoever;alledging, That a great many conſiderable Towns were loſt by their Governors abſence. *Hannerick* and *Cumenil*, deſired to be made Marſhals *de* Camp; *Hannerick* claimed a right to it, becauſe he had like to have been Enſign in the Kings Army. *Cumenil*, becauſe he narrowly miſs'd being *Maiſtre de Camp* in the Regiment of Monſieur *de Bocaſle*; he could not

not ſay that he had ever ſeen an Army in the Field, but he alledg'd That he had been a Hunter all his Life, and that Hunting being an Image of War, according to *Michiavel*, forty years Hunting were as good as thirty Campains at leaſt; he would be a Marſhal *de* Camp, and he was ſo. *Flavacourt* ſaid, That to be a good Captain, a Man muſt have run away as well as have gained Victories, as *Barriere* obſerved out of the Book of Monſieur *de Rohan*; this being ſo he pretended that no body could diſpute with him the advantage of his own Experience; and all the World remember'd very well the Diſorder he was in when *d'Eſtartè* was taken Priſoner, they would have given him the Command of the Artillery at *St. Euremont*; and to ſay truth, out of an Inclination for Monſieur *St Germain*, he had a mighty deſire to ſerve the Court, by undertaking a conſiderable Charge which he underſtood nothing of: but ſince he promis'd the Count *d'Harcourt* not to take any Employment, he kept his Promiſe, as well for his Honors ſake, as that he might not reſemble the *Normans*, who had all of them broken their word: Theſe Conſiderations made him generouſly

rouſly refuſe the Money that was offer'd him, which indeed was never paid him. *Campion* was not ambitious of great Employments, he only begg'd to be Marſhal of a Squadron to learn the Trade, confeſſing ingeniouſly that he had no skill in it, but valued himſelf mightily for his knowledge of the Country, even to the little Brooks and By-ways, which Knowledge he arrived to by Hunting with Monſieur *de Vendoſme*. *Sevigny* was content with ſuch another Office, but he was gull'd by his moderation when he ſaw there was no neceſſity of being a skillful man to be a Marſhal *de* Camp: beſide, he ſet up for a Buffoon, and had the honor to make his Highneſs laugh. *Rucqueville*, an ancient Servant, would do nothing, and his long experience in War became uſeleſs, under pretence of being troubled with Vapors. Monſieur *de Longueville*, to ſweeten his diſcontent becauſe he was not Governor of the Court, augmented his Penſions, but in vain. *Rucqueville* profeſſing generouſly, that he was ready enough to take his Maſters mony, but to ſpeak ill of him he would not do it for the world. *Barbarouſſe* remained a long time Neuter without taking either ſide, *Boncœur* keeping him

ſtill

ſtill in ſuſpenſe by the friendſhip of Marſhal *Gramount*: yet during his long conſideration, he forbore not to raiſe himſelf inſenſibly by doing of good offices, and joyfully flatter'd himſelf with the vanity of an undeſerved Repute: Afterwards being informed by Letters from his Friends that they ſeriouſly endeavored a Peace, he deſigned to quit this timerous Neutrality: He had *Cæſars* opinion to fortifie his Courage, which was yet drooping; and when he came to paſs the *Reubicon*, he made a full ſtop as this great Captain did, and after having thought a little, cry'd out like him, I have paſs'd the *Reubicon*, there is but one dangerous caſt to loſe all: upon this he went out immediately in a violent buſsle without any conſideration of *Boncœur*, without any regard to his little *Henry*, (well knowing that the ſight of Wives and Children, can ſoften the fierceſt Courage and the braveſt Minds) or without ſaying a word to any of his Friends, he went to the Duke *de Longueville*, and thus accoſted him: I have always been your ſervant, but not with ſo particular a Zeal as that which obliges me to ſerve you in this Juncture; from this day I will embrace your Intereſts, and

and am come to aſſure your Highneſs, that I devote my ſelf intirely to you.

The Joy the Duke at this time felt was great, and like thoſe which being too big to keep within the Breaſt, do ordinarily break out and make an Impreſſion upon the Face. But it was very much allayed, when *Barbarouſſe* thus explain'd himſelf.

The Declaration I have made is not ſo general, but I muſt add to it one condition; I intend to ſtay behind when you go to the War, which ought not to be attributed to want of Courage, but to an unhappy detenſion of Urine, which hinders me from riding: Not that I will be uſeleſs in the Party, I will Negotiate with Madam de Matignon, *for whom I have always had ſome kind of Gallantry; and beſides, ſeeing you have no body here that knows how to make Relations, I will undertake the care of publiſhing your Exploits.* Theſe laſt words cheer'd up the Princes heart again, for to ſay truth, there was great need of a Gazetier, and he was glad to find one ſo knowing in Narratives.

Fontera-

Fonterailles came juſt in the nick to ſee the great occaſion of *de la Bouille* during his abode in *Normandy*, the Duke *de Longueville* communicated every thing to him, as well as to *Varricarville* and the Count *de Fieſque*; but *Fonteraille* could not reliſh this Confidence well, fearing to engage himſelf too far in the Intereſts of the Prince, and to become the Confident of a ſecond Enterpriſe upon *Pontoiſe*. So juſt an apprehenſion obliged him to ſtrike off, and to carry with him the Count *de Fieſque*, to whom he repreſented, That ſince they governed their General ſo abſolutely, all the Diſorders that happened, if he ſhould carry things to extreams, would be laid at their Door.

The Duke *de Retz*, from whom they expected ſuch great Supplies, came accompanied only with a Page that carried his Arms, and his two faithful Squires. Some began to talk, when they ſaw him come without Troops, but they were quickly ſatisfied, when he ſhew'd them a long Liſt of all the *Bretons*, who demanded Employment: It would coſt no more then Two hundred thouſand Crowns to equip theſe *Bretons* for the

Cam-

Campaign, and for want of ſo little money, the Authority of ſo great a Lord ſignified nothing. It is true, he promiſed to pay it with his Perſon, and to ſerve as Duke and Peer in the Army of *Roüen*, with the ſame diligence as he had done in that of *Flanders*: Beſides, he aſſur'd them that *Montplaiſir* would come quickly, and alſo give them ſome hopes of being more ſecret; moreover, that *Bell-Iſle* was in a very good condition, there was a Garriſon in *Machecours*, and a ſtrong Guard kept at *Nommiral*. His manner of living with the Officers was altogether obliging, and whoſoever was happy enough to have a Buff-coat, or a ſhort Caſſock of black Velvet, might be aſſured of his Friendſhip.

You ſee the different employments of the moſt Conſiderable in the Party. If any body wonders that I have given him no account of their Actions, it is becauſe I am exactly true, and as I ſaw nothing elſe, ſo I have ſaid nothing more; in the mean time I think my ſelf happy for having acquired a hatred to theſe Troubles, more from Obſervation than my own Experience. It is a Trade for mad and miſerable Men, with whom honeſt

neſt People, and ſuch as are well to live, ought not to intermix.

Fools come thither every day in crouds, the proſcribed, the miſerable throng in from both ends of the World. Never was there ſo many entertainments of Courage without Honor; never ſo many fine Diſcourſes and ſo little Sence; never ſo many Deſigns without Actions, ſo many Enterpriſes without Effects; all were Imaginations, all Chymera's, nothing true, nothing real, but neceſſity and miſery.

Thence it comes to paſs, that private Perſons complain of the great Men that they deceive them; and the great Men, of private Perſons that they abandon them. The Fools are diſabuſed by Experience, and withdraw: The Miſerable, who ſee no change in their Condition, go to ſeek elſewhere ſome other miſchievous Affairs, as much diſcontented Heads of the Faction, as with the Favorites at Court.

The

The Recapitulation of what was ſaid above, together with the Impriſonment of the Princes.

I.

THe reaſon that obliged Monſieur *le Prince* to quit the Command of the Army after the Battel at *Lens*, was not only the fear of hazarding his reputation after ſo many great Succeſſes, but alſo the deſire of enjoying the Fruit of his Victories, and of being an Agent in the Affairs of State, at a time when the weakneſs of the Government made his Relations and Friends believe that he would be Maſter at Court.

II.

This ſecond Point is not in its right place, and we muſt firſt anſwer to the third, which concerns the Aſſembly met at *Noiſi* near *St. Germain*. The Anſwer is, That under pretence of going thither to ſee Madam *de Longueville*, the *Frondeurs*

deurs engaged the Prince *de Conty*, and the Duke *de Longueville*, to come into the Parliament Intereſt, with whom they will needs perſwade the World, that Monſieur *le Prince* promiſed to joyn, as the Coadjutor all along ſaid, and afterwards reproached him with it in the Parliament, which was the cauſe of the Quarrel betwixt the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* and the Coadjutor in the Palace, who had like to have been the cauſe of his ruine, as we ſhall ſee anon. Now though Monſieur *le Prince* diſavow'd that he ever made any ſuch promiſe, yet there is very great probability, that he would have made himſelf head of the *Frondeurs*, upon hopes of reducing them to the Court Intereſt, to which he as zealouſly adhered as ever, whatever he pretended; but when he perceived that they would give him no Authority over them, but what was deſtructive of the Power he deſign'd to ſupport, he pretended to forget himſelf, and to have never had any correſpondence with them.

III. The

III.

The departure of the Prince *de Conty*, the Dukes *de Longueville* and *de la Rochefoucault*, and of the Marquis *de Noirmouſtier* from *St. Germain*, was an effect of thoſe Meaſures which were taken at *Noiſy*. But Monſieur *le Prince*, who was altogether for the Court Party, made his Brother joyn with it; the Duke *de Longueville* alſo rendred himſelf, as well becauſe he is naturally irreſolute, as becauſe he hoped that things would be ſoon accommodated: But being the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, and the Marquis *de Noirmouſtier* were interreſſed by their League with the *Frondeurs* to make him ſtand to his word, they at laſt conſtrained him to follow the Prince *de Conty* to *Paris*. It is true, that they came not thither at the time appointed, and this delay obliged the Parliament to review the Offers of the Duke *d'Elbœuf*, and confer upon him the Office of General; who preſently made ſo ſtrong a party in the Parliament, and amongſt the People, that it was in his power to cauſe the Prince *de Conty*, and all thoſe who accompanied him, to be arreſted, accu-

ſing them of holding intelligence with the Court, and of coming with the conſent and contrivance of Monſieur *le Prince*, who had abandoned them. This went ſo far, that they ſet a Guard upon the *Hotel de Longueville*, and at laſt conſtrained the Prince *de Conty*, and the Dutcheſs *de Longueville*, to go to live at the *Hotel de Ville*. But that which brought this ſuſpicion upon them, was, becauſe the Engagement they had made to be of the Parliament party, was entruſted only with a few particular Perſons of this company, who durſt not declare, till the preſence of the Prince *de Conty*, and thoſe that were with him, gave them liberty to publiſh this ſecret.

IV.

The Proviſions which were permitted to be brought into *Paris*, were not the effect of any Intelligence which Monſieur *le Prince* had with his Relations who were ſhut up there: for there were never ſo great Quarrels amongſt them as at this time, but it was becauſe the Court deſired extreamly to conclude a Peace ſpeedily, before the arrival of the Archduke and his Army, and a general Inſurrection

rection of all the Provinces. And the entrance of Proviſions was a condition, without which they would not begin the Conference.

V.

Here we muſt explain the ſecond Point, becauſe it was after the War of *Paris*, that the Prince of *Condy* and Cardinal *Mazarin* fell out. The principal occaſion of their Miſunderſtandings, proceeded from the Cardinals throwing the hatred of the People upon the Prince *de Condy*, and making him to be reputed the Author of all the Violences which they ſuffered, inſomuch that Monſieur *le* Prince, who believed he could not better raze out this Impreſſion, than by the means of the *Frondeurs*, whoſe Affections and Sentiments the People eſpouſed, reſolved to reconcile himſelf to them, by making an open Breach with the Cardinal, and letting them ſee that he did not depend upon the Court ſo much as they imagin'd. Not that he intended by doing this to declare himſelf their Head, but to become more formidable to the Court, to regain the Peoples affections, and to make his Conditions

more advantageous. And foraſmuch as he was ſenſible of the miſchief, which the Diviſions in his Family had brought upon him, he ardently deſired to be reconciled to the Prince of *Conty*, the Dutcheſs of *Longueville*, and the Duke *dela Rochefoucault*, who at that time was the ſole Confident of the Prince *de Conty* and the Dutcheſs *de Longueville*: Therefore it was for all theſe Reaſons that he took an occaſion to break off with them, upon their refuſal of the Government of the *Pont de l'Arche* to the Duke *de Longueville*, but becauſe he would not long continue ill at Court, he quickly thought that he had done enough, and was reconciled to the Cardinal within eight days. This loſt him the *Frondeurs* and the People again, and brought him no advantage but the reunion of his Family.

VI.

Monſieur *le* Prince ſupported the Intereſts of *Bourdeaux*, cheaply to oblige a great Parliament and a ſtrong City, that this might render him more conſiderable at Court, and put him into a better condition of making advantages by it.

VII. The

VII.

The League betwixt the Prince *de Conty*, and the Abbot *de la Riviere*, was agreed upon without Monſieur *le* Prince's being made a Party in it; that is to ſay, That Monſieur *le* Prince had no further to do in it, then barely to conſent, that the Abbot *de la Riviere*, ſhould, upon the Peace with *Paris*, procure the Prince *de Conty*'s re-eſtabliſhment in his Governments, Monſieur *de Longueville*'s in his; and over and above, the Government of *Danvilliers*, upon condition that the Prince *de Conty* ſhould wave his Pretenſions to the Cap, in favor of the Abbot *de la Riviere*. It was the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* who treated about this Affair, becauſe the Prince *de Conty* had no mind to be an Eccleſiaſtick, and becauſe he judged that ſo long as the Abbot *de la Riviere* was in hopes of being Cardinal, he would engage Monſieur always to take ſuch Meaſures as the Prince *de Conde* deſired; and ſo he did, till the Impriſonment of the Princes, that the Abbot *de la Riviere* was diſcharged with the conſent of theſe Gentlemen.

VIII.

The fifth Point explains this as well as the ſecond, and therefore it will be needleſs to ſpeak any more of it.

IX.

The Affair of *Jolly* was never ſo well diſcovered, as to give a Man ground to ſpeak poſitively of it: But what I believe, is, that *la Boulage*, who raiſed the Sedition in the morning, with the Confederacy of the Duke *de Beaufort*, attempted to raiſe another in the Evening to alarm the Court, and thereby ſhelter himſelf from the danger he was in for the firſt. Likewiſe the Cardinal, who had of a long time ſought an occaſion to ſet the Prince *de Condè* at open War with the *Frondeurs*, made uſe of this Accident to divide them irreconcileably: He made the Prince of *Condè* believe that they meant it againſt his Perſon. The Declaration which he made thereof to the Parliament, at laſt gave occaſion to the *Frondeurs* to reconcile themſelves to the Court, and to lay the Deſign of Impriſoning the Princes, which was ſoon after executed, and which produced all the

the miſchiefs that have ſince befallen us. The Princes *de Condè*, *de Conty*, and the Duke *de Longueville* were ſeized the eighteenth of *January*. It was reported, that ſeveral gave them notice thereof; but the Prince *de Condè* told me that no body ſpoke a word of it to him. This I know, that the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* ſeeing the different Procedures of Monſieur *d'Orleans* in the tryal of the Aſſaſſin, ſaid to the Prince *de Conty* the very day that he was taken into Cuſtody, that either the Abbot *de la Reviere* was gained over to the Court, or that he was loſt in his Maſters favour; and that ſo neither Monſieur *le* Prince, nor him, could be one moment ſafe at Court. The ſame Duke *de la Rochefoucault* had before told *la Mouſſaye* the ſame day, that the Captain of his Company came to tell him, that he was ſent to ſeek him from the King, and that being in the Gallery of the Palais Royal, Monſieur *le Tellier* asked him if the People would not approve of it, if the King ſhould do ſome bold Action to retrieve his Authority; to which the other anſwered, That provided they did not Arreſt the Duke *de Beaufort*, there was nothing they would not conſent to; upon this, the Captain came to the Duke

de

de la Rochefoucault, and told him, That they were reſolv'd to ruine Monſieur *le* Prince, and that he ſaw by the Meaſures they took, that it would be within a very little while. *La Mouſſaye* promiſed to tell him, but Monſieur *le* Prince ſaid that he never ſpoke to him of it. All the World knew what paſs'd in this action, and how the Coach wherein the Princes were, being broken betwixt *Paris* and the *Bois de Vincennes*, they ſtaid four or five hours by the way, with a Guard of only ſixteen men. They would have arreſted the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* and *la Mouſſaye* at the ſame time, and ſent Monſieur *de la Vrilliere* with an Order to the Dutcheſs *de Longueville* to come to the Queen at the Palais Royal, where they had a deſign to detain her. But the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* made her reſolve to depart that very moment, and to go with all poſſible diligence into *Normandy*, to engage the Parliament of *Roüen* and all *Normandy* to ſide with the Princes, and to ſecure the Friends and Fortified Places of the Duke *de Longueville*, and *Havre de Grace*. The Duke *de la Rochefoucault* went along with her; but this Princeſs, after having in vain attempted to gain the Parliament, retired

tired to *Dieppe*, which ſerved her for a retreat no longer then till the Court came, which preſs'd her ſo, that ſhe was forced to Embark her ſelf and go by *Holland* to *Stenay*, whither the Marſhal *de Turenne* was retreated ſince the Impriſonment of the Princes: the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* left *Dieppe* four or five days before the Dutcheſs *de Longueville*, and went into his Government of *Poictou* to diſpoſe things there for a War, and to endeavor with the Dukes *de Bouillon*, *de S. Simon*, and *de la Force*, to renew the diſcontents of the Parliament and City of *Bourdeaux*, and oblige them to eſpouſe the Intereſt of Monſieur *le* Prince, ſince the Court in their Declarations imputed to him no greater crimes then his having highly defended the Intereſts of *Bourdeaux*. As to the Reaſons which mov'd the Cardinal to arreſt Monſieur *le Prince*, I am perſwaded he had none that were good, and that all the Rules of Policy were againſt this Deſign, as it proved in the event; beſides, till then Monſieur *le Prince* was not ſuſpected guilty of the leaſt thought againſt the State: therefore I think that the Cardinal by doing this, not only intended to be Maſter at Court, but

but alſo that he could not endure the ſharp and ſcornful way wherewith the Prince *de Condê* treated him in publick, by which he endeavored to retrive in the opinion of the World, what their reconciliation had taken from him. He did the ſame thing in private Counſels to ruine him in the Queens affection, and to gain the Poſt which he there poſſeſſed: In fine, the animoſity betwixt Monſieur *le Prince* and him increaſing daily, he haſten'd his ruine, that he might not give him time to reconcile himſelf to the *Frondeurs*; he carried on this Affair with ſo much Artifice, that the Prince *de Condè* did not only think that the Preparations in order to Arreſt him, were intended againſt the *Frondeurs*; but alſo in hopes of this, did himſelf give Orders to ſee them more ſafely conducted to Priſon: The thing was executed with ſo general a conſent of the People, that the Dutcheſs *de Longueville* being retired *incognito* into a private Houſe, to ſtay for things neceſſary for her Journy, ſaw Bonfires lighted, and other Marks of publick Joy, for the Impriſonment of her Brethren and Husband.

The

The Authority of the Court ſeemed more eſtabliſh'd then ever, by the Impriſonment of the Princes, and the reconciliation of the *Frondeurs*. *Normandy* received the King with an entire ſubmiſſion, and the Garriſon'd places of the Duke *de Longueville* were rendred without reſiſtance: The Duke *de Richelieu* was driven out of *Havre*: *Burgundy* followed the example of *Normandy*: *Belle-Garde*, the Caſtle of *Dijon*, and *St. Jean de l'Aune*, imitated the Garriſons of the Duke *de Longueville*. Monſieur *de Vendome* had the Government of *Burgundy* given him: the Count *de Harcourt* that of *Normandy*: the Marſhal *de l'Hoſpital* that of *Champane* and *Brie*: the Count *de S. Aignan* that of *Berry*: *Montrond* was not given any Body, becauſe there was no Garriſon there. Thoſe of *Clermont* and *Danvilliers* revolted, and *Marſin*, who commanded the Army in *Catalonia*, was taken Priſoner, and loſt *Tortoſe* whereof he was Governor: then was none but *Stenay* alone which remained true to the Princes party. Almoſt all their Friends ſeeing ſo many Misfortunes, contented themſelves with complaints, but did nothing in order to make them ceaſe.

The

The Princeſs *de Condè* and the Duke *d'Anguien*, were by the Kings order at *Chantilly*: the Dutcheſs *de Longueville* and Marſhal *Turenne* were retreated to *Stenay*: the Duke *de Bouillon* at *Turennes*: the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* at *Vertueil* in *Angoulmois*: the Duke *de St. Simon* at *Blaye*: and the Duke *de la Force* at *la Force*. Theſe at firſt teſtified an equal zeal for Monſieur *le Prince*; but when the Dukes *de Bouillon* and *de la Rochefoucault* were ready to begin the War, the Duke *de St. Simon* flatly broke his word, and the Duke *de la Force*, who had little engagements to the Party, made excuſes not to declare himſelf. The Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, who had no fortified Places under his Government, nor Souldiers, was notwithſtanding the firſt that took up Arms. *Saumur*, which had been given to *Cominges* after the death of Marſhal *de Brezè*, was a place of great importance to the Party. He who commanded there under the Marſhal *de Brezè*, delayed for ſome time to put it into the hands of *Cominges*, and in the mean while ſent word to the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, that he would adhere to his Party if he would bring ſome Souldiers thither: He in the interim who had none

none diſciplin'd, and who could get no other Forces then what his own Credit and his Friends could raiſe, under a pretence of ſolemnizing his Fathers Funeral, aſſembled ſo many of the Gentry and Men within their Lordſhips, as amounted to above Two thouſand Horſe, and Five or ſix hundred Foot. He march'd with theſe Troops to relieve *Saumur*, which was already beſieged by the Kings: but though he arrived thither before the time expired that the Governor had promiſed to hold it, yet he found the Capitulation made, ſo that he was obliged to retire to his own Houſe; but he was conſtrained to depart ſoon after, becauſe Marſhal *la Meilleraye* marched towards him with all his Troops, which made him to retreat to *Turennes*, after having put into *Montrond* Five hundred Foot and One hundred Horſe. At his arrival at *Turennes*, the Duke *de Bouillon* and he had news, that Madam *la* Princeſs had followed the advice which they gave her, to depart ſecretly from *Montrond* with the little Duke *d'Anguien*, and come to *Turennes*, thence to be conducted by them to *Bourdeaux*, where they had a great many Friends ready to receive them. The Duke *de*

Bouillon

Bouillon got his Friends together, and the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* ſent his who came to *Turennes*, being about 300 Gentlemen, under the Command of the Marquis *de Sillery*. All theſe marched into *Auvergne* with Madam *la* Princeſs and the little Duke, whom they conducted to *Turennes*; there they ſtaid eight days, in which they took *Brive la Gallarde*, and the Company of *Gendarmes* of Prince *Thomas*, which conſiſted of One hundred Horſe. This ſtay at *Turennes*, which was neceſſary to diſpoſe the minds of thoſe at *Burdeaux*, that we might go thither with ſafety, gave the General *de Valette*, who commanded the Kings Army, time to come into the Road which Madam *la* Princeſs was to take, with a deſign to hinder her Paſſage: But whil'ſt ſhe ſtay'd at a Houſe of the Duke *de Bouillons*, called *Rochefort*, the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* and He marched to the General of the Army, with all the Troops that they had raiſed within their Lordſhips, and ſix hundred Gentlemen who were their Friends: they joyned the General *de Valette* at *Montelard* in *Perigord*, who fled without fighting, and retreated to *Bergerack* after having loſt all his Baggage. Madam *la* Princeſs, after

ter this, ſet forward for *Bourdeaux*, and came thither without diſturbance from any Enemy. The Princeſs *de Condè* and the Duke *d'Anguien*, were received at *Bourdeaux* with all the Teſtimonies of publick Joy, and though the Parliament and the * Sheriffs ſaw her not in a Body, yet there was ſcarce one of them in particular who did not give her aſſurances of their Service; but for all this, the Court party and the Friends of Monſieur *d'Eſpernon*, hinder'd the Dukes *de Bouillon* and *de la Rochefoucault*, from being received into the City till after ſome time. They ſtay'd two or three days in the *Fauxbourg des Chartreux*, whether the People reſorted in Crouds to ſee them, and offer'd to force their entrance; they would not accept their proffer, and were contented, as I ſaid, to enter into the City together two days after Madam *la* Princeſs. There were then in the Province none of the Kings Troops in a Body, but thoſe which the General *de la Valette* commanded, who were near *Libourn*. Thoſe of the Dukes *de Bouillon* and *de la Rochefoucault*, conſiſted of Five or ſix hundred Gentlemen, their Friends, and ſuch as they raiſed among their Tenants,

* *Jurats.*

which not being disciplin'd Souldiers, it was impossible to detain them, insomuch that every one of them was ready to withdraw, therefore they judged it necessary to attempt to set upon the General *de la Valette*, and for this end they marched with all their Troops to *Libourne* where he was: But he having advice thereof, withdrew and avoided Fighting a second time, well knowing that the Nobility was upon the point of returning home again, and so by not fighting at all, he might certainly make himself Master of the Field.

At this time the Marshal *de la Meilleray* had order to march towards *Bourdeaux* with his Army, whither also the King was coming. This news made the Dukes *de Bouillon* and *de la Roch foucault* hasten to levy Men, and to take a general review of the Burgesses of the City, to prepare them against a Siege. They made also some Out-works, but because no mony came from *Spain*, they could not fortifie any of their Works: for in all this War they had not a farthing from *Spain*, but Two hundred and twenty thousand Liures, the rest being taken up in Provisions, or upon the Credit

dit of Madam *la* Princeſs, or of the Dukes *de Bouillon* and *de la Rochefoucault*, or of Monſieur *Laiſnè*. Nevertheleſs, in a very little time they raiſed near Three thouſand Foot, and Seven or eight hundred Horſe; they took *Chatelneau*, which is four Leagues from *Bourdeaux*, and had extended their Victories further, but for the news they heard of the approach of Marſhal *de Milleraye* betwixt the two Seas; & of the Duke *d'Eſpernon*, who came to joyn the Army of General *de la Valette*. Upon this the Dukes *de Bouillon* and *de la Rochefoucault* diſpatch'd the Marquis *de Sillery* into *Spain*, to acquaint them with the ſtate of things, and to haſten the Supplies which they had promiſed them. In the interim they left a Garriſon in *Chaſtelneau*, and withdrew with the reſt of their Troops to *Blanquefort*, which is two Leagues from *Bourdeaux*. It was at this place that the Duke *de Eſpernon* came to beat up their Quarters. The Dukes *de Bouillon* and *de la Rochefoucault* were returned to *Bourdeaux*, and *Champhon* Marſhal *de Camp* commanded the Troops, which were much weaker than the Duke *d'Eſpernons*; nevertheleſs, though he could not defend the entrance

of his Quarter, yet the Marſhes and Trenches which lye on all one ſide of it, gave him opportunity of retreating without breaking his Ranks, and of ſaving his Men and all the Baggage. Juſt upon this Fight, the Dukes *d'Bouillon* and *de la Rochefoucault* went out of *Bourdeaux* with a great number of Citizens, and having joyned their Troops, returned to the Duke *d'Eſpernon* with a deſign to fight him, but the ſame Trenches hinder'd them from coming to a cloſe Fight: So that all paſs'd in Skirmiſhes, wherein the Duke *d'Eſpernon* loſt a great many Officers and Souldiers: on the Citizens ſide there were very few kill'd. *Gutault*, Monſieur *le Prince*'s Chamberlain was there wounded. After this, the Troops of Marſhal *de la Mill'ray*, and thoſe of the Duke *d'Eſpernon*, drew nearer to *Bourdeaux*. The King came to *Libourn*, he made them attack the Caſtle *de Vaire* upon the *Dourdongne*, the Governor having ſurrendred it at diſcretion, was hang'd, to intimidate thoſe of *Bourdeaux*; but it wrought a contrary Effect, for this News coming at a time when the Peoples minds were unreſolved and wavering, the Dukes *d'Bouillon* and *de la Rochefoucault*, hang'd up the

the Commander of the Iſle *Saint Georg*, which was alſo rendred them at diſcretion. This Action aſtoniſh'd the Court, heartned the People of *Bourdeaux*, and ſo diſpoſed things in the City, that they were reſolved to ſtand the Siege and to defend themſelves couragiouſly, confiding in their own ſtrength and the promiſes of the Spaniards, who aſſur'd them of a ſpeedy and powerful Supply. With this deſign they haſtned to make a Fort of four little Baſtions at the *Baſtide*: The *Baſtide* is over againſt *Bourdeaux*, on the other ſide of the River. They diligently made other Fortifications to the City; but becauſe a great many Citizens had Houſes in the *Fauxbourg de St. Surin*, they would not conſent to the burning or pulling down any of them, ſo that all that could be done, was to ſhut up the Avenues and make the Windows of the Houſes ſtrong; which was done only to content the People, and not out of any hopes of defending a place of ſo little ſtrength, with the Citizens and ſo few Souldiers as remain'd, which were not above Seven or eight hundred Foot, and Three hundred Horſe. Notwithſtanding, becauſe all depended on the People and the Parlia-

ment, we muſt ſatisfie them, though contrary to the Rules of War, and undertake the defence of the *Fauxbourg de St. Surin:* it lies open on every ſide, the Gate of the City neareſt to it is *Dijos*, which was weak, being defended with nothing, and becauſe they may walk to it on even ground, that it was thought convenient to cover it with a Half-moon; but every thing being wanting, they made uſe of a little Dung-hill before the Gate, which being raiſed into a Scarpe in faſhion of a Half-moon, without a Parapet or a Trench, proved notwithſtanding the greateſt Defence of the City.

Whil'ſt the King ſtay'd at *Bourg*, Cardinal *Mazarin* came to the Army, which conſiſted of Eight thouſand Foot, and near Three thouſand Horſe: they reſolv'd to attack the *Fauxbourgh de St. Surin*, ſo much the more readily, becauſe the Avenues only being garded, they might without danger gain the Houſes, enter that way into the *Fauxbourg*, and alſo cut off that which defended the Barricado's and the Church, without their being able to retreat into the City: They believed alſo that the Half-moon being

being impoſſible to be defended, they ſhould be poſſeſſed of the Gate *de Dijos* after the firſt day: for this end Marſhal *de la Meilleray* attacked the Barricado's and the Houſes at the ſame time; and *Palluau* alſo had Orders to enter by the Palais *Galien*, and to cut betwixt the *Faubourg* and the City, directly to the Half-moon; but the Marſhal *de la Meilleray* having begun the Aſſault before *Palluau* came, found more reſiſtance then he expected: The Skirmiſh begun aſſoon as the Kings Troops drew near: They had lined the Hedges and Vineyards which covered the *Fauxbourg* with a great many Muſquetiers, who preſently put a ſtop to the Kings Troops, with a great loſs. *Choupes* Marſhal *de Camp* was wounded there, and many Officers kill'd. The Duke *de Bouillon* was in the Church-yard of *S. Surin*, with all the Burgeſſes he could get to recruit the Poſts; and the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* was at the Barricado where the principal Aſſault was made, it was preſently won; *Beauvais*, *Chafferat*, and the Chevalier *de Todias* were taken there. The Fight was very hot on both ſides, there were One hundred or ſixſcore men kill'd of the Dukes Party, and Seven or

eight hundred of the Kings, notwithſtanding the *Fauxbourg* was carried, but they yet paſs'd no further; and therefore they reſolv'd to open the Trench for to take the Half-moon, and to make another Aſſault by the Alleys *de l'Archeveſch's*. I have already told you that there was no Ditch to the Half-moon, ſo that it being eaſie to be taken, the Burgeſſes would not come upon the Guard, but contented themſelves with ſhooting from behind the Walls; the Beſiegers attack'd it thrice with their beſt Troops, they enter'd alſo within, but were beaten back by the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, who brought thither the Prince *de Condé's* and his own Guards, juſt at the time when thoſe that defended it began to give back: Three or four of *Navailles* Officers were taken Priſoners, and the reſt put to flight or kill'd; the Beſieg'd made three great Sallies, in each of which they clear'd the Trenches and burnt the Lodging; thirteen days after the Trench was open'd, the Seige was no more advanc'd than on the firſt day: But becauſe thoſe of *Bourdeaux* had not Foot Souldiers enough to relieve the Guard of the Ports that were attacked, and thoſe who were not kill'd or wounded, were al-

almoſt unable to fight, becauſe of the fatigue of keeping Sentry for thirteen days together, the Dukes *de Bouillon* and *de la Rochefoucault* refreſh'd them with the Cavalry, who quitted their Horſes; and they themſelves ſtaid there the four or five laſt days without ſtirring thence, that they might by their Example keep more of the People there. In the mean time, the Deputies of Monſieur and of the Parliament of *Paris*, arrived at *Bourg* to make Propoſitions of Peace. *Le Coudray-Montpenſier* entred into *Bourdeaux* with two Counſellors of *Paris*, *le Meuſnier*, and *Bitaud*. The Court deſired a Peace, fearing the event of the Siege of *Bourdeaux*, whoſe reſiſtance was the more obſtinate, becauſe they hoped for the Supplies of *Spain* and of Marſhal *de la Force*, who was upon the point of declaring himſelf; but the Parliament wiſhed for a Peace, the Court Party and the Duke *d'Eſpernons* acted vigorouſly to diſpoſe the reſt of the City to it. The Infantry was ruin'd, and the Supplies I ſpoke of had fail'd them too often to give them any reaſonable aſſurance of them now. All this together made the Parliament reſolve to ſend Deputies to *Bourg*: they incited Madam *la Princeſs*, and

the Dukes *de Bouillon* and *de la Rochefoucault* to ſend alſo; but becauſe both of them had no other Concerns than the Liberty of the Princes, and could not deſire a Peace but upon this condition; They were contented not to oppoſe a thing which indeed they could not hinder; they refuſed to ſend any, and only deſired the Deputies to Treat for their Safety and the Liberty of Madam *la* Princeſs, of the Duke *d'Anguien*, and all of their Party, with the re-eſtabliſhment of every one. The Deputies went to *Bourg*, and there concluded the Peace without communicating the Articles thereof to Madam *la* Princeſs, or to the Dukes *de Bouillon* and *de la Rochefoucault*. Madam *la* Princeſs and the Duke *d'Anguien* were permitted to go to *Montrond*, where the King would keep a little Garriſon for the ſafety of Madam *la* Princeſs, which ſhould be of her own chooſing. The Duke *de Bouillon* retired to *Turennes*, and the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, who was, as I have ſaid, Governor of *Poictou*, to his own Houſe, without exerciſing the Office of his Charge, and without any reparation for his Houſe *de Vertueil*, which the King had caus'd to be razed. Madam *la* Princeſs, the Duke

Duke *d'Anguien*, and the aforeſaid Dukes, went together from *Bourdeaux* to go to *Coutras*. Marſhal *la Meilleray*, as he went to *Bourdeaux*, met Madam *la* Princeſs upon the Water, and adviſ'd her to go and ſee the King and Queen, giving her hopes, that the King it may be would grant to the Prayers and Tears of a Woman, what he thought himſelf obliged to refuſe when it was demanded by Arms. In fine, notwithſtanding the averſneſs which Madam *la* Princeſs had to go to Court, the Dukes *de Bouillon* and *de la Rochefoucault*, counſell'd her to follow the Advice of the Marſhal, that they might not be reproached with the neglect of any thing that might procure her Husbands liberty. The arrival of Madam *la* Princeſs at Court, produced many Effects, ſo ſuddain a change made *Madamoiſelle* believe, that they treated about many things without acquainting Monſieur with them. The Dukes *de Bouillon* and *de la Rochefoucault*, had great Conferences apart with Cardinal *Mazarin*, with a deſign either to make him reſolve to give the Princes their Liberty, or to render him ſuſpected by Monſieur. They repreſented to him, that the Princes would be the more obliged

to

to him for it, becauſe they very well knew that he was not in a condition to be compell'd to it by War. That it would be glorious enough for him to let all *Europe* ſee, that he had ruin'd and re-eſtabliſhed Monſieur *le Prince*, when he pleas'd: That the proceedings of the *Frondeurs* ought to make him ſenſible, that they deſired to be Maſters of the Princes, either to deſtroy them, and afterwards him himſelf with the greater eaſe; or to ſet them at liberty, and thereby engage them joyntly to effect the Queens and his ruine: That the War was ended in *Guyenne*, but the deſire of renewing it all over the Kingdom, would never end but with the Impriſonment of the Princes, and that he ought the more to give credit to thoſe that ſpoke to him, becauſe they did not fear to tell it himſelf whil'ſt they were in his hands, and had no other Security but his word: That the Cabals would every where be renewed in the Parliament of *Paris*, and in all the other Parliaments of the Kingdom, to procure the Princes Liberty, and to get them out of his hand: And in fine, that whatever the ſaid Dukes could do, by all ways poſſible, ſhould be to procure Liberty to the

Princes,

Princes, but that they had much rather owe the Obligation to him than to any body elſe. This Diſcourſe had the effect they deſired it ſhould have; it ſhak'd the Cardinal, and made the *Frondeurs* and Monſieur *de Orleans* jealous: it took away their hopes of getting the Princes into their hands, and made them reſolve to be reconcil'd to them, and ſeek again for means to deſtroy the Cardinal.

The *Frondeurs*, ſince the Impriſonment of the Princes, endeavored, not without Cardinal *Mazarins* conſent, underhand to make all the advantages they could of their Reconciliation with him, but they affected always to make the World believe, they had not changed their deſign to ruine him, that hereby they might keep up their Credit amongſt the People: So that what they did for this end, at the beginning with the Cardinals approbation, was afterwards ſerviceable to them againſt him when they really intended his ruine. I have already told you, that the Dukes *de Bouillon*'s and *de la Rochefoucault*'s converſation with the Cardinal had made them jealous. *Madamoiſelle* took the alarm, and gave it to Monſieur *d'Orleans*; afterwards the

Fron-

Frondeurs uſed their utmoſt and laſt endeavors to get the Princes within their power: and ſeeing that they were refus'd it, they enter'd upon a Negotiation with the Princes, and thoſe who Treated for them, they engaged Monſieur *d Orleans* to procure their Liberty. The Preſident *Viole*, *Arnaud*, *Montrueil* the Prince of *Conty*'s Secretary, and many others, enter'd upon Negotiating with Monſieur *d'Orleans*, the Coadjutor, Madam *de Chevreuſe*, and the *Frondeurs*, and with Monſieur *de Beaufort*, and Madam *de Montbazon*; the reſt treated with the Cardinal. At this time the Princeſs *Palatine* was more than any Body the Confident of the Princes and the Dutcheſs *de Longueville*; ſhe began all the Negotiations of the Princes, as well with the *Frondeurs* and the Cardinal, as alſo with Madam *de Chevreuſe* (whoſe Daughter was to be married to the Prince *de Conty*) and with Madam *de Montbazon* and the Duke *de Beaufort*. She was the Truſtee for their Treaties, how oppoſite ſoever they were: who ſeeing her ſelf charged with ſo many contrary things at a time, and fearing to become ſuſpected by one or other of them, ſent word to the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, that

that it was neceſſary he ſhould come to *Paris incognito*, and that ſhe would acquaint him with the ſtate of Things, that they might together reſolve upon concluding with one ſide or other. The Duke *de la Rochefoucault* was then a declared enemy to the Coadjutor, to Madam *de Chevreuſe*, the Duke *de Beaufort*, and Madam *de Montbazon*: So that ſeeing the Negotiations equally advanced on both ſides, and judging, That if they concluded with the *Frondeurs*, the Princes could not get out without a Revolution of all the preſent ſtate of Affairs; He came to *Paris*, and having let the Princeſs Palatine ſee that the Cardinal had the Key of the Princes Priſon, and could ſet him at liberty in a moment, he hindred her from making Monſieur *le Prince* ratifie the Treaty with the *Frondeurs*, to give the Cardinal time to conſider the Difficulties he was going to be entangled in. The Duke *de la Rochefoucault* ſaw him three or four times in private, they both of them deſired it might be ſo, becauſe the Cardinal would have no body in the World know of this Negotiation, for fear Monſieur and the *Frondeurs* ſhould ſpeedily break out againſt him: and the Duke *de la Roche-*

foucault

foucault kept it the more ſecret, becauſe the *Frondeurs* demanded as one Condition of their Treaty, That the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* ſhould ſign it, which he neither would nor ought to do, ſo long as he had reaſon to hope that the Treaty with the Cardinal might be ſincerely intended both by him and the Princes. He received alſo from the Dutcheſs *de Longueville* a full Power to make the Cardinal Friends with all the Family, upon condition that he would ſet the Princes at Liberty. In the interim, the *Frondeurs* who got intelligence that the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* treated privately, preſſed him to ſign their Treaty with Monſieur *le Prince*; ſo that ſeeing himſelf neceſſitated ſpeedily to conclude with one party or the other, he reſolved to ſee the Cardinal once more; and after having repreſented to him the ſame things that he had told him at *Bourg*, and the danger he was ready to incur by the Declaration of Monſieur *d'Orleans*, the Parliament, and the *Frondeurs*, and by being almoſt generally abandoned by his Creatures, he declared to him that things were come to that paſs, that if he did not that very day expreſly give him his word for the liberty of the Princes, he could

could not Treat with him any more, nor help concluding with the *Frondeurs*, who began to be alarm'd at his delay to ſign the Treaty, and who would not finiſh it without him. The Cardinal ſaw very much probability in what he ſaid, nevertheleſs the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* ſpoke to him only in general of the ſeveral Cabals which were formed againſt him, without enumerating any in particular; and this he did, becauſe he would not betray a Secret with which he was Intruſted, nor ſay any thing that might prejudice that Party which he was going to make for the Princes Liberty, if the Cardinal refuſed it; ſo that the Cardinal ſeeing nothing particularized, thought that the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* had made the danger greater than it was, only to make him conclude; and believed, becauſe he named not to him ſo much as any of his Enemies, that he had told him nothing that was certain. In the mean while all ſides were mightily exaſperated, Monſieur declared openly that he would have the Princes ſet at Liberty; for their part, they deſired that the Treaty might be concluded with the *Frondeurs*, and obliged the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, to

reconcile himſelf to, and joyn with them: Monſieur's Declaration for the Liberty of the Princes, made the Parliament and the People of *Paris* come over to his ſide: The Burgeſſes took up Arms, ſet a Guard at all the Gates, and would not give the King and Queen liberty to go out of *Paris*; they were no longer contented to demand the Princes Liberty, they would alſo have the Cardinals Life. Monſieur *de Château-neuf*, Keeper of the Great Seal, eſpouſed the Intereſts of the Princes, and hoped that their Liberty and the removal of the Cardinal, would render him chief in the management of Affairs. Marſhal *de Villeroy*, and almoſt all the Kings Family, ſupported him, part of the Miniſters, and many of the Cardinals moſt particular Friends did the ſame thing; and the Dutcheſs *de Chevreuſe* contributed all her Power, whereof ſhe had a great deal in all the Cabals: Monſieur *de Château-neuf* was always engaged to her Intereſts, ſince and before his Impriſonment; and it was with each others Advice that they took all their Meaſures, ſometimes with the Cardinal, and ſometimes with his enemies. She had a great influence upon the Coadjutor, but the

Beauty

Beauty of *Madamoiſelle de Chevereuſe* had yet a much greater power over him: *Madamoiſelle* and the Coadjutor, aſſiſted by Madam *de Chevereuſe* and Monſieur *de Château-neuf*, had got the Aſcendant over the mind of Monſieur *d'Orleans*; beſides, they had powerful Cabals amongſt the People and the Parliament, whom they actuated as they had need. The Dutcheſs *de Chevreuſe* and Monſieur *de Chateau-neuf*, were not yet ſuſpected of the Cardinal, he knew nothing of the Marriage that was propoſed betwixt the Dutcheſſes daughter and the Prince *de Conty*; he remembred that ſhe contributed more than any body to the Impriſonment of the Princes, by diſpoſing Monſieur to conſent to it, and obliging him not to tell it to the Abbot *de la Riviere*, and afterwards to caſhire him. So that the Dutcheſs *de Chevreuſe*, who wiſh'd nothing ſo much as the Marriage of her daughter with the Prince *de Conty*, and the eſtabliſhment of the Keeper of the Seals, thinking ſhe might compaſs both her deſires by removing the Cardinal, managed her ſelf ſo well in this Affair, that ſhe really was the greateſt cauſe of the Reſolution he took to withdraw. His retreat did not at all calm

calm the minds of the *Pariſians* or of the Parliament; they feared he was gone to *Havre* to take the Princes thence by force, and that the Queen at the ſame time deſign'd to carry the King away from *Paris*, inſomuch that not only the Guards of the Gates and the Streets near the Palais Royal were doubled, but alſo there were all the Night ſome of the Cavalry about in the City, to hinder the King and Queen from going out. The Parliament on the other hand, made every day new Petitions for the Princes Liberty, and the Anſwers of the Court being ambiguous, did but enrage, inſtead of appeaſing them: They thought to blind the World by ſending Marſhal *de Gramont* to the Princes, and he himſelf made great preparations for the Journy, but becauſe it was not to produce any thing for their Liberty, they quickly ſaw that it was only to gain time. In fine, the Queen ſeeing the miſchief increaſe on every ſide, and not certainly knowing whether the Cardinal would deliver the Princes, or take them away with him; and beſides, fearing leſt their minds already exaſperated with ſo many delays, ſhould be at laſt run to ſtrange Extremities, ſhe reſolved to promiſe the

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Parliament to ſet the Princes at Liberty, without any further delay, and ſent away the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, the Sieure *de Vrilliere* Secretary of State, and *Comminges* Captain of her Guards, with an expreſs Order to *de Bar* to ſet the Princes at Liberty aſſoon as he received it. The Cardinal had notice of it from the Queen when he was near to *Havre*, and though it was in his power to permit this Order to be executed, or to take the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, and thoſe who accompanied him Priſoners, yet he rather choſe to go to the Princes himſelf, in which Interview the Cardinal immediately began to juſtifie his conduct and carriage towards them, declaring the reaſons he had to Arreſt them: afterwards he deſired their Friendſhip, yet told them, with a mind ſomething haughty, that they were at liberty to grant or refuſe it him, and whatſoever they did as to that, they might leave *Havre* and go whither they pleaſed; they ſeemingly promiſed him what he deſired: He dined with them, and immediately after the Princes and Marſhal *de Gramont* left *Havre*, and went three Leagues off to lye at a Houſe called *Groſmenil*, in the way from *Havre* to *Roüen*, where the

Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, *la Vrilliere*, *Cominges*, and the Preſident *Viole*, arrived preſently after with the Orders of the Court which I before mentioned.

What paſſed after the Impriſonment of the Princes, till the War de Guyenne.

THe Impriſonment of Monſieur *le Prince*, added new Luſtre to his Glory, ſo that he came to *Paris* with all the Splendor that a Liberty ſo advantageouſly obtain'd could give him. The Duke *d'Orleans* and the Parliament had forced him out of the Queens hands, Cardinal *Mazarin* had hardly eſcaped the People's, and left the Kingdom loaded with publick contempt and hatred. In fine, the ſame People who but a year before made Bonfires for the Misfortune of Monſieur *le Prince*, beſieged the Court in the Palais Royal to procure his Liberty; every one believed, that his diſgrace might be laid upon his Humour and Conduct, which brought upon him ſo much hatred, and all equally hoped,

hoped, that his Preſence would ſettle the Kingdom in Order and Peace. Things were thus diſpoſed, when Monſieur *le Prince* arrived at *Paris* with the Prince *de Conty* and the Duke *de Longueville*, an infinite croud of people came to meet him, as far as *Pontoiſe*: He was met by the Duke *d'Orleans* in the Mid-way, and was conducted to the Palais Royal in the midſt of this Triumph and publick Acclamations: The King, the Queen, and the Duke *d'Anjou*, were there only with the Officers of the Houſe; and Monſieur *le Prince* was received like one, that was rather in a condition to give than to beg Pardon. This Interview paſs'd in ordinary Civilities, without diſcovering the leaſt anger on either ſide, and without diſcourſing upon Affairs. But the Queen, too impatiently, deſired the Cardinals return, not to attempt all ſorts of ways to diſpoſe Monſieur *le Prince* to it: She offer'd by the Princeſs *Palatine* to enter into a ſtrict League of Friendſhip with him, and to procure him all manner of Advantages. But becauſe it was in general Terms, he anſwer'd her with Civilities, which laid no tye upon him: he alſo thought that it was an Artifice of the Queens to renew

the general Diſlike againſt him, and by rendring him ſuſpected of Monſieur *d'Orleans*, the Parliament and the People, to expoſe him to fall into his former Misfortunes. Moreover, he conſider'd that he came out of Priſon by a Treaty ſigned with Madam *de Chevreuſe*, by which the Prince *de Conty* was to marry her Daughter, and that it was principally becauſe of this Alliance, that the *Frondeurs* and the Coadjutor of *Paris* confided in him. This Conſideration had alſo the ſame Effect upon the Keeper of the Seals, *de Château-neuf*, who was then Preſident of the Council, and was inſeparably bound to the Dutcheſs *de Chevreuſe*: Beſides, this Cabal ſeemed to continue in the ſame Force and Credit it was before; She offer'd him alſo the choiſe of any Preferments for himſelf and his Brother, and Monſieur *de Château-neuf* had but juſt before re-eſtabliſh'd them both with the Duke *de Longueville* in the exerciſe of their Offices. But in fine, Monſieur *le Prince* found it dangerous and ſhameful to break with thoſe from whom he had received ſo many Advantages, and who had ſo powerfully contributed to his Liberty.

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Though theſe Reflections balanced Monſieur *le Prince*, yet they changed not the Queens deſign, ſhe all along deſired with the ſame earneſtneſs to enter upon a Negotiation with him, hoping either to tye him firmly to her Intereſts, and thereby ſecure the Cardinals return, or to render him again ſuſpected, for all that he did, by his party: In hopes of this, ſhe preſſed the Princeſs *Palatine* to make Monſieur *le Prince* declare what he would deſire for Himſelf and his Friends, and gave him ſo much hopes to obtain every thing, that he reſolved at laſt to Treat, and privately to ſee *Servien* and *Lyonne* at the Princeſs *Palatines*: He deſired alſo, that the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* ſhould be there, and made the Prince *de Conty* and the Dutcheſs *de Longueville* acquainted with it. The firſt Project of the Treaty which the Princeſs *Palatine* propoſed, was, That they would give *Guyenne* to Monſieur *le Prince*, the Lieutenancy General to whomſoever of his Friends he pleaſed, and the Government of *Provence* to the Prince *de Conty*; that they would gratifie thoſe who had followed his Intereſts; that they would require no more of him, than to go to his Government, with any of his Troops he

he pleaſed to chooſe for his ſafety, that he ſhould ſtay there without contributing any thing to the Cardinals return, ſo that he oppoſed not what the King ſhould do to bring him back, that, however it happen'd, Monſieur *le Prince* ſhould be at Liberty to be his Friend, or Enemy, as his behaviour gave him occaſion to love, or hate him: Theſe Conditions were not only confirmed, but alſo increaſed by *Servien* and *Lyonne*; for upon Monſieur *le Princes* requeſt to joyn the Government of *Blaye*, to the Lieutenancy General of *Guyenne* for the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, they gave him all the hopes he could deſire. It is true, they demanded time to treat with Monſieur *d'Angouleſme* for the Government of *Provence*, and perfectly to diſpoſe the Queen to grant *Blaye*; but it was only that they might give an account to the Cardinal of what paſſed, and receive his Orders; they declared alſo the Queens unwillingneſs to the Marriage of the Prince *de Conty* with *Madamoiſelle de Chevreuſe*, but they gave them not occaſion to diſcourſe any further upon that matter, and only let them know, that the engagement they had made with Madam *de Chevreuſe*, was too ſtrong to admit of expedients for

for breaking it: they inſiſted not upon this point, and parted in ſuch a manner, that one might have reaſonably believed, that the League betwixt the Queen and Monſieur *le Prince* was upon the matter concluded. Both of them were almoſt equally obliged to keep this Negotiation ſecret, the Queen had reaſon to fear increaſing the jealouſie of the Duke *d'Orleans*, and the *Frondeurs*, and to contradict, ſo ſoon and without any pretext, all the Declarations which ſhe had but juſt before made to the Parliament againſt the Cardinals return. Monſieur *le Prince* alſo was obliged to uſe no leſs Caution. The noiſe of his Treating would make his Friends believe, that he had done it without their having any benefit by it, and from that time would furniſh the Duke *de Bouillon* and Marſhal *Turennes*, with a juſt pretence to quit his Intereſts. He would render himſelf irreconcilable to the *Frondeurs* and Madam *de Chevreuſe*, and preſently renew the fearful Image of the late War in the minds of the Parliament and People. In fine, this Affair continued for ſome while without being diſcover'd, but the time which they took to conclude it in, ſoon produced occaſions to break it off, and

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carry things to thoſe Extreams which we have ſince ſeen them in. The Court was then divided into many Cabals, but all were unanimous to hinder the Cardinals return; notwithſtanding their Conduct was extreamly different, the *Frondeurs* openly declared againſt him, whil'ſt *Château-neuf*, the Keeper of the Seals, pretended to be ſtrictly engaged to the Queen, and at the ſame time was the moſt dangerous enemy the Cardinal had. He believed this Conduct the ſurer to remove him, and poſſeſs himſelf of his place, becauſe he affected being of the ſame mind with the Queen to haſten his return. The Queen, for her part, gave the Cardinal an exact account of every thing while he was retreated, and augmented his Power ſince his abſence; but becauſe his Orders came ſlowly, and one often contradictory to an other, this diverſity brought Affairs into ſuch a confuſion, as admitted of no redreſs.

In the mean time the *Frondeurs* preſs'd the Marriage of the Prince *de Conty* and *Madamoiſelle de Chevreuſe*, they were jealous of the leaſt delays, and already ſuſpected Madam *de Longueville*, and the Duke *de la Rochef ucault*, of having a de-

a deſign to break it off, for fear Madam *de Chevreuſe*, and the Coadjutor, ſhould get the Prince *de Conty* out of their hands. Monſieur *le Prince* alſo dexterouſly increaſed their ſuſpicions of his Siſter, and the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, thinking that ſo long as they were of this Opinion, they would never diſcoyer the true cauſe why the Marriage was delay'd; which really was, becauſe the fore-mentioned Treaty of Monſieur *le Prince* with the Queen, being neither finiſhed nor quite broke off; and having had notice that Monſieur *de Château-neuf* would be diſgrac'd ere long, he intended to wait the event of all theſe things, either to conclude the Marriage, or make his Court to the Queen by breaking it off; and to ſee whether the Cardinal would be ruin'd by the Keeper of the Seals, or the Keeper of the Seals be turned out by the Cardinal. In the mean time, they ſent to *Rome* to get a Diſpenſation for nearneſs of Blood, the Prince *de Conty* expected it with impatience, both becauſe the perſon of *Madamoiſelle de Chevreuſe* pleaſed him, and becauſe the changing of his Condition had at leaſt the Charm of being new, a Charm which he never had the power to reſiſt. Nevertheleſs,

vertheleſs, he hid his thoughts from his Friends with all the Art he could, and feared above all things leſt Madam *de Longueville* ſhould perceive it, and ruine the vain hopes of a ſhameful and ridiculous paſſion, which he would make them believe he was inſpired with. In this perplexity, he ſecretly deſired the Preſident *Viole*, who was to draw up the Articles of the Marriage, to accord what points ſoever they conteſted, and to overcome all the difficulties that might impede it. At this time the Keeper of the Seals, *de Chauteau-neuf*, was in diſgrace. The Primier Preſident ſucceeded him, and the Queen re-eſtabliſh'd Monſieur *de Chavigny* in the Council. She thought, becauſe he return'd without the mediation of any body, that he would owe the obligation entirely to her ſelf; and indeed ſo long as *Chavigny* hoped to gain a confidence with the Queen, he never came near Monſieur *le Prince*, nor any of his intimate Friends: but from the moment he perceived that nothing could alter the Queens affection to the Cardinal, he ſecretly renewed his Friendſhip with Monſieur *le* Prince, and from that time believed, that this union would advance him to every thing his unbounded

bounded Ambition prompted him to desire: His first thought was, to oblige Monsieur *le Prince* to impart the Treaty he was agitating with the Queen to the Duke *d'Orleans*, that he might help him to break it off. Afterwards, he required Monsieur *le Prince* to remove Madam *de Longueville*, and the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* from all particular and secret knowledge of his Designs, though he owed to them both as great Confidence as Monsieur *le Prince* reposed in him. Whil'st *Chavigny* acted thus, the removal of Monsieur *de Chateau-neuf* increased the diffidence of Madam *de Chevreuse*, touching the Marriage, which she impatiently desired, she found her self no longer in a condition to procure of Monsieur *le Prince* and his Friends, the establishment to which he was engaged, and in the mean time Madam *de Rhodes* had by her order agreed with the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, that these very Establishments, and the Marriage, should be performed at the same time, and be reciprocal Pledges of the fidelity of both parties: But as on one side Madam *de Chevreuse* saw her hopes diminish with her Credit; so on the other side, they were increased by those testimonies of Passi-

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on, which the Prince *de Conty* gave to *Madamoiſelle de Chevreuſe*. She gave him a thouſand uneaſineſſes, which he hid from his Friends, and chiefly from his Siſter, He had very long and particular Conferences with *Laigues* and *Noirmouſtier*, which, contrary to his cuſtom, he gave an account of to no body. In fine, his conduct appeared ſo extraordinary, that the Preſident *de Neſmond*, a particular Servant of Monſieur *le Prince*, thought himſelf obliged to advertiſe him of Prince *de Conty's* deſign: He told him that he was going to Marry *Madamoiſelle de Chevreuſe* without his knowledge, and without a Diſpenſation; that he abſented himſelf from his Friends, to get an opportunity of treating with *Laigues*, and that if he did not ſpeedily prevent it, he would ſee *Madamoiſelle de Chevreuſe* would rob him of his Brother, and complete the Marriage, at a time when 'twas believed it was more for his Intereſt to hinder it. This advice put him out of all doubts of the thing, and without asking any Bodies advice, he went to the Prince *de Conty*, and beginning his Diſcourſe with railleries upon the greatneſs of his Love, ended it with ſpeaking of *Madamoiſelle de Chevreuſe*, the Coadjutor

tor *Noirmouſtier* and *Commartin*, all that he thought capable of diſguſting a Lover or a Husband. Without any great difficulty he accompliſh'd his Deſign, for the Prince *de Conty*, either becauſe he believed what he ſaid to be true, or becauſe he durſt not ſhew that he doubted of it, thank'd him immediately for his good advice, and reſolved never to think of *Madamoiſelle de Chevreuſe* more; he alſo complain'd of Madam *de Longueville*, and the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, for not having told him ſooner what the World talk'd of her: hereupon they endeavored by all ways to break off this Affair, without exaſperating the other party; but the Intereſts were too great, and the Circumſtances too provoking, not to revive and increaſe the ancient hatred of Madam *de Chevreuſe* and the *Frondeurs*, againſt Monſieur *le Prince*, and all thoſe whom they ſuſpected to have had a hand in what was lately done.

Nevertheleſs, the Preſident *Viole* had Orders to go to Madam *de Chevreuſe*, and try if he could handſomly diſingage Monſieur *le Prince*, and the Prince *de Conty*, from the promiſes they had given for the Marriage: they themſelves were

both of them to go to wait upon her the day after, but either becauſe they knew not how to have the confidence to viſit one whom they had ſo ſenſibly diſobliged, or becauſe the two Brothers who quarrel'd every day for the leaſt things, could not then agree about the manner of paying their Viſit, In fine, neither they themſelves nor *Viole* waited on her; and the Affair broke off on their ſide, without endeavoring to keep any moderation, or to make the leaſt pretence. I cannot tell whether it was by *Chavigny*'s advice that Monſieur *le Prince* accepted the Government of *Burgundy*, in exchange for that of *Guyenne*; but this Treaty was at laſt concluded by him, without mentioning what he before demanded for his Brother, the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, and his other Friends.

In the mean time, the Counſels of *Chavigny* had the ſucceſs he deſired; he alone was Monſieur *le Prince*'s Confident, and had perſwaded him to break off his Treaty with the Queen, contrary to the advice of Madam *de Longueville*, the Princeſs *Palatine*, and the Dukes *de Bouillon* and *de la Rochefoucault*. *Servien* and *Lyonne* were on both ſides in this Ne-

Negotiation, and were afterwards diſcarded. The Queen deny'd that ſhe ever heard of the Propoſition of *Blaye*, and accuſed *Servien* for having done it on purpoſe to make the Demands of Monſieur *le Prince* ſo high, that ſhe could not poſſibly grant them. Monſieur *le Prince* again complained of *Servien*, for either entring into a Buſineſs with him by the Queens orders, upon conditions which ſhe never had knowledge of, or for having made ſo many vain Propoſitions to amuſe him with the pretence of a ſincere Treaty, which was really nothing, but a premeditated Deſign to ruine him. In fine, though *Servien* was ſuſpected on both ſides, it diminiſhed not the diſaffection that begun to ariſe betwixt the Queen and Monſieur *le Prince*, which was almoſt equally fomented by all that came near them: they perſwaded the Queen, that the difference betwixt Monſieur *le Prince* and Madam *de Chevreuſe*, would reunite the *Frondeurs* to the Cardinals Intereſts, and that things would ere long come to the ſame paſs they were in, when Monſieur *le Prince* was Arreſted. He, on the other ſide, was hurry'd on by many different Intereſts to break with the Court:

He found no ſecurity in the Queen, and was afraid of falling again into his firſt diſgrace. Madam *de Longueville* knew that the Cardinal had made her Husband hate her, paſt all hopes of reconciliation, and that after the Impreſſion he had given him of her Conduct, ſhe could not go into *Normandy* to him, without either expoſing her Life or her Liberty: Notwithſtanding, the Duke *de Longueville* would by all means have her come, and ſhe had no way to avoid ſo dangerous a Journey, but by inciting her Brother to quit the Court by an open breach with it, and to prepare for a Civil War. The Prince *de Conty* had no particular aim, nevertheleſs he followed the Opinions of his Siſter before he knew them, and would have a War, becauſe ſhe prevented his taking upon him a Profeſſion which he had no inclination to. The Duke *de Nemours* alſo counſell'd it with a preſſing earneſtneſs, which proceeded not ſo much from his ambition, as from his jealouſie of Monſieur *le Prince*; he could not bear his ſeeing, and loving Madam *de Chaſtillon*; and becauſe he could no way hinder it but by ſeparating them for ever, he believed that the War alone would effect it. And this was the

only

only motive he had to desire it. The Dukes *de Bouillon* and *de la Rochefoucault* were much more averse, for they had by a fresh experience try'd to what invincible Labours and Difficulties they expose themselves, who would support a Civil War against the presence of their King: they knew with what Infidelities they were threatned, when the Court by Proclamation promised rewards to those that would submit, and gives Interested persons a pretence of returning to their Duty: they knew also the Treachery of the *Spaniards*, how vain and deceitful their promises are, and that their true Interest is not, that Monsieur *le* Prince, or the Cardinal, should be at the Helm in the management of Affairs, but to foment the Quarrel betwixt them, and so advantage themselves by our Divisions. The Duke *de Bouillon* also added the consideration of his private Interest to that of the publick, and hoped he might do a thing meritorious in the Queens eyes, if he contributed to restrain Monsieur *le Prince* within the bounds of his Duty. The Duke *de la Rochefoucault* could not so openly declare his Aversion to this War: He was obliged to follow the Sentiments of Madam *de Lon-*

gueville, and all that he could then do, was to endeavor to perſwade her to a Peace. But the Conduct of the Court and of Monſieur *le* Prince, ſoon gave occaſions of Diffidence to both parties, the conſequence whereof was fatal to the State, and to moſt of the great Families of the Kingdom; it ruin'd almoſt in a moment, the greateſt and moſt ſplendid Fortune that ever dignified the Head of a Subject. Whil'ſt things were on all ſides diſpoſed for an entire Rupture, Monſieur *le Prince* ſent the Marquis *de Sillery* into *Flanders*, under a pretence of diſengaging Madam *de Longueville*, and Marſhal *Turennes* from the Treaties, which they had made with the *Spaniards* in order to procure his Liberty, but really with an Order to take Meaſures with the Count *de Fuenſaldaigne*, and know before-hand what aſſiſtance Monſieur *le* Prince might expect from the King of *Spain*, if he ſhould be forced to reſolve upon a War. *Fuenſaldaigne* anſwered him to this, according to the uſual cuſtom of the *Spaniards*, and by promiſing in general much more than he could reaſonably ask, omitted nothing that might engage Monſieur *le Prince* to take up Arms. On the other ſide,

ſide, the Queen had made a new Treaty with the Coadjutor, the principal foundation whereof, was the common hatred they had to Monſieur *le Prince*. This Treaty was to be kept ſecret, both for the Queens and the *Frondeurs* Intereſt, becauſe ſhe could expect no ſervice from them, but by the Authority they had amongſt the People, which they could preſerve no longer then while they believed them the Cardinals enemies, both parties equally thought their ſafety conſiſted in the Princes ruine: they alſo offer'd the Queen to kill him, or to take him Priſoner; but ſhe aborr'd the firſt propoſition, though ſhe willingly conſented to the ſecond. The Coadjutor and *Lyonne* went to the Count *de Montreſor*'s, to conſult about the means of executing this Enterpriſe: They unanimouſly agreed that it ſhould be attempted, but could neither reſolve upon the time, nor the manner of doing it. Now either becauſe *Lionne* feared the Conſequences thereof for the State, or becauſe he conſidered the liberty of Monſieur *le Prince*, as the greateſt obſtacle to the Cardinals return, which he deſired to hinder, he one day diſcovered to Marſhal *de Grammont*, all that was reſolv'd

upon againſt Monſieur *le Prince* at the Count *de Montreſor*'s. Marſhal *de Grammont* kept the ſecret no better then *Lionne*, for he told it to *Chavigny*, after having engaged him by all manner of Oaths not to reveal it, but *Chavigny* immediately gave notice of it to Monſieur *le Prince*. He for ſome time thought that they had raiſed this report of Arreſting him, only to make him quit *Paris*, and that it would be a weakneſs to take the Alarm, ſeeing the People ſo zealouſly adhering to his Intereſts, and finding himſelf inceſſantly accompanied with an infinite number of the Officers of the Army, of his own Troops, of his menial Servants, and particular Friends: with this confidence he alter'd not his Conduct in any thing, ſave that he reſolv'd, not to go any more to the *Louvre*; but this precaution could not ſecure him from putting himſelf into the Kings power, by an Imprudence which can't be blam'd enough: for he went to the *Cours de la Reine* in his Coach, at the ſame time that the King paſs'd that way in his return from Hunting, followed by his Guards and his Light Horſe. This Rencounter, which might have deſtroy'd Monſieur *le Prince*, at that time produc'd no

no ſuch effect: The King went on his way, and Monſieur *le* Prince went out of the *Cours*, that he might not give him any time to lay a Deſign againſt him. We may believe, that they were equally ſurpriſed with ſuch an extraordinary adventure, and that they were quickly after ſenſible that both of them had made a conſiderable fault: the King, in not taking a reſolution immediately to Arreſt him; and Monſieur *le* Prince, in expoſing himſelf to ſuch a danger, without perceiving it till it was out of his power to avoid it. The Queen and the *Frondeurs* comforted themſelves for the loſs of ſo fair an occaſion, with the hopes of ſeeing their project ſoon take effect: In the mean time, the continual advice which Monſieur *le* Prince had given him on all hands, began to perſwade him, that they really intended to ſecure his Perſon: and therefore he reconciled himſelf to Madam *de Longueville*, and to the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*; nevertheleſs it was ſome time, for all that they could do to make him reſolve, ere he would take warning to look to himſelf. At laſt his Fate would have it, that after he had obſtinately reſiſted ſo many apparent Conjectures, and certain

tain Intelligences, he was alarm'd without reaſon, and by a new fault did what he had refuſed to do at the advice of his Friends; for one time when he was laid in bed talking with *Vineuil*, he received a Note from a Gentleman called *Bouchè*, who ſent to Advertiſe him, That two Companies of the Guards were in Arms, and going to march towards the *Fauxboug St. Germain:* This News made him believe, that they were to beſet the *Hotel de Condè*, ſo that without ever conſidering that they often imployed theſe Companies to guard the Gates, and to exact the payment of Entries (as indeed they were then commanded only for that purpoſe) he thought they were intended againſt his Perſon: upon this, he got on Horſe-back with all the haſte imaginable, and being only attended by ſix or ſeven, went out by the *Fauxbourg St. Michel*, and for ſometime ſtaid in the High Road to hear news of the Prince of *Conty*, to whom he had ſent notice of his departure: But a ſecond Alarm, yet more ridiculous then the firſt, obliged him to quit his Poſt: He heard a great many Horſe trotting towards him, ſo that thinking it was a Squadron ſent out to ſeek for him, he re-

retreated to *Fleury* near *Meudon*; but theſe Troops which made him quit the Field, proved to be nothing but Higlers that marched all the Night for *Paris*. As ſoon as the Prince *de Conty* knew that Monſieur *le* Prince was gone, he ſent word to the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, who went to him: but Monſieur *le* Prince obliged him immediatly to return to *Paris* to give the Duke *d'Orleans* an account of the reaſon of his Departure, and retreat to *St. Maur*. This action of Monſieur *le* Princes produced amongſt People, what great news is wont to do, every one made different Conjectures, and laid different Deſigns; the appearance of a Change gave Joy to the People, and Fear to all thoſe that were eſtabliſh'd in Places. The Coadjutor, Madam *de Chevreuſe*, and the *Frondeurs*, believed, That the Retreat of Monſieur *le* Prince would unite them to the Court, and increaſe their Eſteem by the need they would have of them. The Queen, doubtleſs, foreſaw the miſchiefs which threatned the State, but ſhe could not be afflicted with a Civil War that advanced the Cardinals return. Monſieur *le* Prince feared the Conſequences of ſo great an Affair, and could not reſolve

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with himſelf to embrace ſo vaſt a deſign. He diſtruſted the unconſtancy of them who puſh'd him on to a War, and judged well, that they would not long help him to ſuſtain the weight of it. The Duke *de Bouillon* ſilently broke off from his Intereſts, and Marſhal *Turenne* had already declared, that for the future he would have no concern in them. The Duke *de Longueville* had a mind to be at quiet; beſides, he was too ill ſatisfied with the Lady his Wife to contribute to a War, which he thought her the principal cauſe of: Marſhal *de la Motthe* ſhifted off from his word that he once gave, to take up Arms. In fine, ſo many Reaſons, and ſo many Examples, would doubtleſs have inclined Monſieur *le Prince* to reconcile himſelf to the Court, if he could have confided in the Queens or the Cardinals words. But the horror of his Impriſonment was yet too freſh in his mind, to expoſe himſelf upon ſuch pledges, the value whereof his own Experience had ſo often given him cauſe to know: Beſides, Madam *de Longueville*, who was again preſſed by her Husband to come into *Normandy*, could not avoid the Journy, if the Treaty of Monſieur *le* Prince was once concluded. Amidſt

ſo

ſo many contrary thoughts, the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* would needs undertake to ſecure Madam *de Longueville* from the perſecution of her Husband, and perſwade Monſieur *le* Prince to Treat with the Court; within a few days after Monſieur *le* Prince arrived at *St. Maur.* Marſhal *Grammont* (with whom he refuſed to Treat in particular) came to him from the King, to demand the reaſon of his Retreat, and to invite him to return to *Paris*, with a promiſe that he ſhould be in ſafety there: Monſieur *le* Prince anſwered him before a great many people, that tho Cardinal *Mazarin* was retreated from the Court, and *Servien*, *le Tellier*, and *Lionne*, were ordered by the Queen to withdraw, yet the Spirit and Maxims of the Cardinal ruled there, and that having ſuffered ſo hard and ſo unjuſt an Impriſonment, he had found by experience, that his Innocence could not eſtabliſh his Safety, which he hoped to find in a retreat, wherein he would preſerve the ſame Thoughts (which he had ſo often given evidence of to the World) for the good of the State and the glory of the King. Marſhal *Grammont* was ſurpriſed and vex'd with the Diſcourſe, he thought to have enter'd upon the matter

matter in hand with Monſieur *le* Prince, and begun ſome Negotiation betwixt the Court and him. But he had no reaſon to complain if Monſieur *le* Prince refuſed to give credit to the promiſes he made him for his ſafety, ſince *Lionne* had made choice of him to intruſt with the Reſolution they had taken at the Count *de Montreſors*, to Arreſt him a ſecond time. Monſieur *le* Prince *de Conty*, and Madam *de Longueville*, came to *St. Maur* aſſoon as Monſieur *le* Prince, and at the beginning this Court was as great and as full of Perſons of Quality as the Kings: they had all manner of Divertiſements, which they made uſe of to a politick end; and Balls, Commedies, Plays, Hunting, and good Chear, drew thither an infinite number of thoſe uncertain people who always offer their Service at the beginnings of Factions, and betray and abandon them ordinarily, according as their Fear or their Intereſt incites them. Nevertheleſs, they thought that this great number might break the Meaſures which they might take to attack *St. Maur*; that this, upon any other occaſion, uſeleſs and inconvenient Croud would be ſerviceable on this, and give ſome reputation to their Affairs. Never was the

Court

Court divided into ſo many different Intrigues, as at this time; the thoughts of the Queen, as I have ſaid, were ſet upon the Cardinals return; the *Frondeurs* aimed at *Chateau-neuf's*, for they thought him neceſſary to accompliſh their Deſigns: they judged, that if he was once more re-eſtabliſh'd, he could more eaſily under-hand traverſe the Cardinals return, and get poſſeſſion of his place if he chanc'd to fall. Marſhal *de Villeroy* contributed as much as poſſibly he could, to diſpoſe the Queen to it; but this Affair, as all others, could not be reſolved on without the Cardinals conſent: whil'ſt they expected his Orders at Court, about the preſent Affairs, Monſieur *le* Prince was yet dubious what ſide he ſhould take, and could not reſolve either upon Peace or War. The Duke *de la Rochefoucault* obſerving the Princes mind ſo uncertain, thought that he might make uſe of this Juncture to engage Madam *de Longueville* to go into *Normandy*, and perſwade Monſieur *le* Prince to hearken to Propoſals for an Accommodation. With this Deſign he ſhew'd Madam *de Longueville*, that there was nothing but her ſeparating her ſelf, that could hinder her from taking the

Journy

Journy ſhe ſo much feared; that Monſieur *le* Prince might eaſily deny her the protection he had till then given her, having ſo fair a pretence as that of reconciling a Wife to her Husband; and above all, that if he intended thereby to oblige Monſieur *de Longueville*, they would alſo accuſe her alone as the Fomenter of the diſorder: that ſhe would many ways render her ſelf reſponſible both to her Brother and to the World, for kindling a War in the Kingdom, the Events whereof will be fatal to his Family, or to the State: for the preſervation of both, which ſhe was equally intereſted, he further repreſented to her, That the exceſſive Expences, which Monſieur *le* Prince would be obliged to lay out, would neither leave him the Power, nor it may be the Will to ſupply hers; and that ſince ſhe could get nothing from Monſieur *de Longueville*, ſhe would find her ſelf reduc'd to inſupportable want. Laſtly, That to remedy ſo many inconveniencies, it was his advice, That ſhe ſhould deſire Monſieur *le* Prince, that he would be pleaſed to let Madam *la* Princeſs, the Duke *d'Anguien*, and her Self, retire to *Montrond*, that they might be no trouble to him if he ſhould be obliged

liged to march ſuddenly, and alſo be free from the guilt of partaking in the dangerous Reſolution he was going to take, either to ſet the Kingdom on fire by a Civil War, or to truſt his Life, his Fortune, and his Liberty, to the doubtful Faith of Cardinal *Mazarin*. Madam *de Longueville* approved of this Advice, and Monſieur *le Prince* was willing it ſhould be followed ſoon after. The Duke *de Nemours* began to abate his firſt violence, and though all his paſſions were ſtill alive, yet he did not demean himſelf ſo violently as he did at firſt. The Duke *de la Rochefoucault* deſign'd to make uſe of this occaſion to ſound his Thoughts; He let him know, that they could never find any Intereſt in a Civil War; that Monſieur *le Prince* might very well ruine their Fortune by ill ſucceſs, but never advantage them by good: That the ſame Reſolution which hinder'd Monſieur *le Prince* from taking up Arms, would likewiſe hinder him from laying them down after he had once taken them up: That he would not eaſily find ſafety at Court, after he had offended it, ſince he could not meet with it at a time when he had attempted nothing againſt it. Laſtly, that beſides the difficult Hu-

mour of Monſieur *le Prince*, which he had to manage, he ſhould conſider, that by removing him from *Paris*, he removed himſelf too, and put his Fate into the hands of his Rival. Theſe Reaſons found the Duke *de Nemours* diſpoſed to receive them, and either becauſe they let him ſee further into things then he had done till then; or out of a Levity, ordinary to men of his age, his deſires became quite contrary to what they were before, and he reſolved to contribute to a Peace, with as much earneſtneſs as he had till then labored for a War; therefore he conſulted with the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* about the Meaſures they were to take in order to their mutual acting in this Deſign. In the mean time, the Queen was more and more incenſed againſt Monſieur *le Prince*. The *Frondeurs* ſought all manner of ways to be revenged on him, though in the interim they loſt their credit amongſt the People, who thought they were in League with the Court. The hatred of the Coadjutor particularly broke out with violence againſt the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, he, as I ſaid, attributed the Rupture of the Marriage of *Madamoiſelle de Chevereuſe* chiefly to him, and thinking every thing

lawful

lawful that could but ruine him, forgot nothing that might engage the Duke *de Longueville* to do it by extraordinary and ſhameful ways: His Coach was alſo ſet upon three times in the Night, and he could never know who they were that had a hand in ſo frequent Aſſaults. All this Animoſity notwithſtanding, hinder'd him not from endeavoring, together with the Duke *de Nemours*, to gain his Deſign; to which Madam *de Longueville* alſo aſſiſted, from the time ſhe was aſſured to go to *Montrond*. But their minds were too much heated to hearken to reaſon, and all Parties in the end experienced, that neither of them underſtood their true Intereſts: Even the Court, which Fortune alone ſuſtained, often made conſiderable faults, and the Conſequence made appear, that both the Cabals were ſupported more by the defaults of the oppoſite party, than by its own good Conduct: In the interim, Monſieur *le Prince* employed all his Arts to juſtifie his Intentions, both to the Parliament and the People, and ſeeing very well that the War he was going to undertake, wanted a Pretext, he endeavored to find one in the procedure of the Queen, who had recalled to her *Servien* and *le Tellier*,

after ſhe had diſcarded them at his Requeſt. He endeavor'd alſo to perſwade the World, That their return was not ſo much to offend him, as to contrive the Cardinals: Theſe Reports being noiſed abroad amongſt the People, made ſome Impreſſion on them. The Parliament was more divided, the Primier Preſident became Monſieur *le Prince*'s Enemy, thinking he contributed to the putting him out from being Keeper of the Seals; thoſe who were gained over to the Court joyned with him, but the Conduct of the *Frondeurs* was more reſerved: They durſt not appear well-affected to the Cardinal, though they really deſired to ſerve him. Things were thus when Monſieur *le Prince* left *St. Maur* to return to *Paris*. He believed himſelf in a condition to ſtand againſt the Court there, and that his high and bold demeanor, would give reputation to his Affairs. At the ſame time he ſent away Madam *la* Princeſs, the Duke *d'Anguien*, and Madam *de Longueville*, to *Montrond*, with a reſolution to go thither himſelf ſoon after, and from thence to *Guyenne*, where they were well diſpoſed to receive him. He ſent the Count *de Tavanes* to his Troops which ſerved in the

the Army of *Champaigne*, with a Command to march them in a Body to *Stenay*, as ſoon as he ſent him Orders: He alſo laid Proviſions into his Fortified places, and had Two hundred thouſand Crowns ready Caſh: thus he prepared for a War, though he had not yet entirely laid the Deſign: Notwithſtanding, at his return, he endeavored to engage people of Quality into his Intereſts, and amongſt others the Duke *de Bouillon*, and Marſhal *Turenne*, they were both particular Friends to the Duke *de la Roch foucault*, who forgot nothing to induce them to take the ſame party which he ſaw himſelf obliged to follow. The Duke *de Bouillon* then ſeem'd to him to be unreſolv'd, he being willing to find his Security and Advantage, becauſe he almoſt alike diſtruſted the Court and Monſieur *le Prince*, intended to ſee the Affair engaged before he would declare himſelf. Marſhal *Turenne* on the contrary, ſpoke to him always in the ſame manner ſince his return from *Stenay*. He told him, That he had no reaſon either to thank, or to complain of Monſieur *le Prince*, for not having imparted to him ſome things wherein indeed he had no mind to have been engaged: That he

thought himſelf obliged to forget nothing, that might contribute to the Liberty of Monſieur *le Prince*, but he pretended that the engagement he had to him, ought to ceaſe with his Impriſonment, and ſo he might make new Alliances according as his Inclination or Intereſt moved him. He added alſo, That Monſieur *le Prince* had not imploy'd him in any thing ſince his return to *Paris*, and had been ſo far from taking his Meaſures by conſulting with him, and making him a Confident in his Deſigns, that he not only removed him from his Counſels, but alſo choſe to let thoſe very Troops who had but juſt before fought for him under his Command, periſh, rather than to ſpeak one word to get them Winter Quarters. Theſe were the Reaſons why Marſhal *Turennes* refuſed to follow the Fortune of Monſieur *le Prince* a ſecond time. The Duke *d'Bouillon* in the interim, who avoided as much as he could to declare what he would do, found himſelf hard enough put to it not to anſwer preciſely. Monſieur *le Prince* and he, choſe the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* to be Mediator betwixt them, but becauſe he would not be Surety for the Word of either of them, and knew well, that a Poſt

like

like this, is always nice, having to deal with people who are to agree upon ſo many important and different Articles, he engaged them themſelves to tell their Opinions before him. It happened, contrary to the uſual cuſtom of ſuch interviews, that their converſation ended without any diſtaſte, and both of them remained ſatisfied, without being tyed or engaged to any thing. At that time, it ſeemed, the chief aim of the Court and of Monſieur *le Prince*, to render the Parliament favorable to them. The *Frondeurs* affectedly pretended to have no other Inrereſt but the Publick's, and under this pretence, they claſh'd with Monſieur *le Prince* in every thing, and oppoſed all his Deſigns; at the beginning they acted with ſome reſervedneſs, but ſeeing themſelves openly incouraged by the Court, the Coadjutor had the vanity openly to declare himſelf Monſieur *le Prince*'s enemy: from that time, he not only beyond all moderation thwarted whatſoever he propoſed, but alſo never went to the Palais without his Friends, and a great number of Armed men to attend him. This inſolent and haughty procedure, did not without reaſon diſpleaſe Monſieur *le* Prince, who thought

it no leſs inſupportable to be forced to go well attended to the Palais, that he might diſpute the way with the Coadjutor, than to go thither alone, and ſo expoſe his Life and his Liberty into the hands of his moſt dangerous enemy: therefore he believed, that he ought to prefer his ſafety to every thing elſe, and reſolved to go no more to the Parliament without being accompanied by all that were of his Intereſt. The Queen was glad to ſee a new ſubject of Diviſion ariſe betwixt two men, whom ſhe almoſt equally hated in her heart: ſhe imagined, that the Conſequences of it would be ſuch, as to give her hopes of being revenged of one by the other, or to ſee them both periſh; nevertheleſs, ſhe in appearance gave her protection to the Coadjutor, and permitted him to be guarded by a party of the Kings *Gens-d'armes*, and his Light Horſe, and by the Officers and Souldiers of the Regiment of Guards. Monſieur *le* Prince was attended by a great many Perſons of Quality, and many Officers, and by a croud of People of all Profeſſions, who never left him ſince he return'd from *St. Maur:* This confuſion of People of different Parties, being all together in the

the great Hall in the Palais, made the Parliament fear leſt ſome diſorder ſhould happen, which might involve every one in particular in the ſame danger, and no body be capable of appeaſing it. To prevent this miſchief, the Premier Preſident reſolved to beſeech Monſieur *le Prince* not to come to the Palais any more thus accompanied; but one day, when the Duke *d'Orleans* was not there, and Monſieur *le* Prince and the Coadjutor were come with all their Friends, the number and animoſities on both ſides ſeemed ſo great, that it augmented the Preſidents fear: Monſieur *le* Prince alſo ſpoke ſome provoking words, which he addreſſed to the Coadjutor; but he anſwer'd them without concern, and dared publickly to ſay, that his Enemies could never accuſe him of breaking his word, and that now adays there are few perſons exempted from this fault: by which words he plainly pointed at Monſieur *le* Prince, and reproached him not only for breaking the Engagements he had enter'd into with the *Frondeurs*, about the Marriage of his Brother with *Madamoiſelle de Chevreuſe*, but alſo alledged the buſineſs of *Noyſi*, when the Prince *de Conty*, Madam, and *Madamoiſelle*

ſelle de Longueville, and the Meſſieurs of *Retz*, laid the foundations of the War of *Paris*, and Monſieur *le* Prince promiſed to head them; not to remove the Cardinal, as the Publick intended, but only to make his Conditions better with him, and have the merit of ſecuring him from miſchief, which ſo powerful a Cabal was not able to do. Theſe Reports being noiſed abroad by the Coadjutors adherents, and alſo renewed ſo boldly before the Parliament when aſſembled, and before Monſieur *le* Prince himſelf, might have made him more ſenſible of the Affront, than he at that time appeared to be. He maſtered his Reſentment, and gave no anſwer to the Coadjutors Diſcourſe. At the ſame time ſome came to advertiſe them, that the great Hall was full of Armed men, who being ſpurr'd on by Intereſts ſo oppoſite, would certainly create very great Diſorders, if they were not ſpeedily prevented. Upon this, the Primier Preſident told Monſieur *le* Prince, that the Company would be infinitely obliged to him, if he would order thoſe who followed him to withdraw; that they were aſſembled to remedy the diſorders of the State, not to augment them, and that no body would be-

believe they were ſo entirely free to ſpeak their Opinions, as they ought to be, ſo long as they ſaw the Palais (which ſhould be the *Aſylum* of Juſtice) ſerve as a place of Arms for all that were capable of raiſing a Tumult and Sedition. Monſieur *le* Prince immediately offered to make his Friends withdraw, and deſired the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* to ſend them away without diſorder: The Coadjutor roſe, and ſaid, That he was going to do the ſame by his: And he really did go out of the great Chamber to ſpeak to his Friends; the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* went eight or ten paces behind him, and was yet in the place called the *Parquet des Huſſiers*, when the Coadjutor was got into the great Hall; as ſoon as they ſaw him, all his party drew their Swords without any reaſon, and Monſieur *le* Prince's Friends did the ſame, every one rang'd himſelf on that ſide he was to ſerve, and in an inſtant the two Parties came within the length of their Swords to one another; and yet amongſt ſo many brave men, animated by ſo many different hatreds, there was not one that made a paſs with his Sword, or ſhot off a Piſtol: The Coadjutor ſeeing ſo great a Diſorder, intended to withdraw

and

and return to the great Chamber; but coming to the door, which goes from the Hall to the *Parquet des Huſſiers*, he found the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* poſſeſſed of it: nevertheleſs, he attempted to force it open, but it being only half ſhut, the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, who held it, juſt as the Coadjutor enter'd, clapt it too and catch'd him by the middle, keeping his Head on the ſide of the *Parquet*, and his Body in the Hall. This opportunity might have tempted the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, after all that had paſs'd betwixt them: General and particular Reaſons puſh'd him on to deſtroy his moſt mortal enemy, beſides the eaſineſs of revenging himſelf, by revenging Monſieur *le* Prince for the affront and reproach which he had but juſt before received: he ſaw alſo, that the Life of the Coadjutor ought to pay for the Diſorder which he was the cauſe of; but he likewiſe conſider'd, that they had not yet ſtruck a ſtroak in the Hall, and that no body came againſt him to defend the Coadjutor, and therefore that he had not the ſame pretence to aſſault him, which he might have had if the Fight had been begun; beſides, the Servants of Monſieur *le* Prince did not imagine

of

of what importance the Service was which they might do their Maſter in this juncture. In fine, one becauſe he would not do an action which might look like cruelty; and the reſt, for want of reſolution in a great Affair, and capacity to go through with it, gave time to *Champlatreux*, the Primier Preſidents Son, to arrive with an Order to diſengage the Coadjutor, and free him from the greateſt danger he was ever in. The Duke *de la Rochefoucault* ſeeing him in the hands of *Champlatreux*, returned into the great Chamber and took his place: the Coadjutor came thither at the ſame time, with all the trouble that an accident like this which he had eſcaped, could give him, he begun to complain to the Aſſembly of the violence of the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*; he ſaid, that he had like to have been aſſaſſinated, and that he held him at the Door only to expoſe him to whatever attempt his Enemies would make againſt his perſon. The Duke *de la Rochefoucault* anſwered, That Fear muſt have certainly taken away his liberty of judging of what paſs'd at that time, otherwiſe he would have ſeen that he had no deſign to kill him, ſince he did not do ſo, when he had

had his Life in his hands a long time; that indeed he was poſſeſſed of the Door, and hindred him from entring, becauſe he believed not that he ought to expoſe Monſieur *le* Prince and the Parliament, to the Diſorder which his men raiſed when they ſaw him come, purely to prevent his fear. This Diſcourſe was alſo followed with ſome injurious menaces which he publickly threatned him with, inſomuch that the Duke *de Briſſac* thought himſelf obliged to anſwer him. The Duke *de la Rochefoucault* and he appointed to Fight that very day without Seconds, but becauſe the occaſion of their Quarrel was publick, it was inſtantly made up by the Duke *d'Orleans*. This Affair, which in all appearance was like to produce ill Conſequences, put an end to that which might have moſt contributed to Diſorders, for the Coadjutor avoided coming again to the Palais; and ſo being no more where Monſieur *le* Prince was, he had no occaſion to fear an Accident, like this which he had ſo narrowly eſcaped. Nevertheleſs, Fortune, which rules men more than their own Conduct, brought theſe two together at a time when they leaſt thought of it, and in a condition far

far different from what they had been in at the Palais; for one day when Monſieur *le* Prince went abroad in his Coach with the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, and was followed by a prodigious croud of people, he met with the Coadjutor dreſs'd in his Epiſcopal Robes, and going a Proceſſion with a great many Shrines and Relicks, Monſieur *le* Prince immediately ſtopp'd, to ſhew more Reverence to the Church, and the Coadjutor walking on till he came over againſt Monſieur *le* Prince, made a low bow, and gave him and the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* his Bleſſing; both of them received it with all the appearances of Reſpect, though neither of them wiſh'd it might have that effect the Coadjutor deſired; at this time the people who followed Monſieur *le* Prince, being moved with ſuch a rencounter, cryed out againſt the Coadjutor, and were ready to pull him in pieces, but that Monſieur *le* Prince ſent out his men to appeaſe the Tumult, and reduce them into order.

The

The War of Guyenne.

THE War in * *Guienne* was maintain'd much more by the vigilence and reputation of the Prince of *Condy*, than either by the number or the valour of his Soldiers; and the Count *de Harcourt* had already repair'd by his Conduct and Fortune, all the diſadvantages that the Defeat of the Marquis *de St. Luc* at *Miradoux* had brought to the Kings Army; the Siege of *Miradoux* was raiſed, the Prince of *Condy*'s Guards, with three or four hundred Horſe, were taken in their Quarters, where *Perſan*, and the Prince of *Condy* himſelf, with the reſt of his Troops, were forc'd to quit his Poſt, for to paſs the River of *Garonne* to *Boue*, and from thence to retire himſelf to *Agen*; but the Diviſions which were in the Town, made the Prince ſoon ſenſible that it would remain on his Party no longer than he retain'd it by his preſence, or by a ſtrong Garriſon: 'twas therefore to ſecure it by this laſt means, that he reſolv'd to put into it the Regiment of Infantry *de Conty*, and

* *Gaſcony.*

to

to make himſelf Maſter of one of the Gates of the Town, whereby he might take away from the People the liberty of refuſing a Gariſon; but this Deſign not being ſecret, it was immediatly ſpread through the whole City, and in an inſtant all the Citizens were in Arms, fortifying themſelves with Barricado's; of which the Prince of *Condy* being inform'd, got ſtrait on Horſe-back for to hinder the Sedition by his preſence, and to ſecure the Port *de Grave* till he could put it into the poſſeſſion of the Regiment that was marching towards the Town. But the arrival of the Soldiers increaſed the diſorder, inſtead of appeaſing of it, they having entred the Town, halted in the firſt Street, and tho both the Prince of *Condy* and the Prince of *Conty*, and the Officers, uſ'd all poſſible means to calm the diſorder, yet the Streets, for all they could do, were inſtantly all Baricado'd; the People notwithſtanding ſtill preſerv'd their reſpect for the Prince of *Condy*, and for the reſt of the General Officers, though the Peoples diſaffection to them increas'd in all thoſe places where they were not preſent. It being impoſſible for things to remain any longer in this condition, the

Souldiers were poſſeſſed of the Port *de Grave*, and half that Street which led to it: the People were up in Arms, all the Streets Baricado'd, and Guards ſet every where.

The Night coming on, which augmented the Confuſion, and the Prince of *Condy* ſeeing himſelf reduc'd either ſhamefully to quit the Town, or elſe to plunder and burn it; but he found on which ſoever he ſhould determine, it would apparently ruine his Affairs, for if he left *Agen*, the Kings Troops would be receiv'd into it; and if he burnt it, that ſevere uſage would inſence the whole Province againſt him, the moſt conſiderable Towns whereof were ſtill firm to his Party: which reaſons induc'd him to attempt an Accommodation that might in appearance preſerve his Authority, and ſerve him for a Pretext to pardon the people of *Agen*. The Duke *de la Rochefoucault* wrought upon the principal Citizens to retire themſelves to the Town-Houſe, and there depute ſome one of them to go to the Prince, and intreat his pardon, and to beſeech him to come to their Aſſembly, to preſcribe to them what means he ſhould think fitteſt to preſerve the Town, in the

the Submiſſion and Fidelity that they had ſworn to him. The Prince went thither, and aſſur'd them, that his intention always was to leave them their Liberties intire, and that that Regiment was only enter'd to eaſe the Citizens in the keeping of the Guard; but ſince that they deſir'd it not, he would be content it ſhould go out again, if ſo be that the Town would maintain a Regiment at its own expence, the Officers whereof ſhould be at his diſpoſal: They willingly accepted the Conditions, and threw down all their Barricado's. The Souldiers march'd out, and the Town was in quiet, and ſeem'd in as much ſubmiſſion as it was before the Diſturbance. But the Prince of *Condy*, not being willing to truſt to appearances, ſtaid ſome time at *Agen*, to re-eſtabliſh the Town in its former ſtate; in which time he receiv'd the News, That the Army from *Flanders* (under the Command of the Duke *de Nemours*) and the Troops of the Duke *d'Orleans*, Commanded by the Duke of *Beauford*, were joyn'd, and on their March toward the *Loyre*. Nevertheleſs, this Joy was mingled with many unquiet Thoughts; for on one ſide he ſaw in the middle of *France*, a *Spaniſh*

Army, that he had ſo long expected, and which could either Relieve *Montrond*, or come and joyn him in *Guyenne*; but at the ſame time he knew that the diviſion between the Dukes of *Nemours* and *Beaufort*, was come to a very dangerous Extremity. They could not agree if together, that their Forces, when ſeparated, were not able to maintain the Field againſt the Kings Army, Commanded by the Marſhals of *Turenne* and *d'Hoquincourt*, and Fortified by the Troops which the Cardinal had brought, but much more by the Voyage of the Court: The Orders of the Duke *de Nemours*, was to paſs the *Loire* and relieve *Montrond*, and then march ſtraight away to *Guyenne*; but thoſe which the Duke *de Beaufort* had receiv'd from the Duke *d'Orleans*, were intirely oppoſite: for Monſieur could not conſent that the Army ſhould be ſo far from *Paris*, for he apprehended, that either the People or the Parliament might change their minds, when they ſaw the Duke *de Nemours* paſs with his Army into *Guyenne*, and the King's Forces remain in their Neighborhood. The Coadjutor of *Paris*, in whom Monſieur more confided than in any body, ſeconded this Advce,

vice, and ſtill increaſed the Fears and the natural Irreſolutions of that Prince, for by detaining the Army on this ſide of the *Loire*, he not only made it uſeleſs to the Prince of *Condy*, whoſe Enemy he was, but he render'd himſelf more conſiderable at Court, by ſhewing them, That being ſo much maſter of Monſieur's Counſels, it was in his power either to advance or retard the progreſs of the Army: and thus he made uſe of all ſort of ways to obtain the Cardinals Cap. Neither was *Chauviny*'s Deſigns leſs on his ſide; for he pretended to govern Monſieur in the letting him know, that he govern'd Monſieur *le Prince*, and aſſur'd himſelf to become Maſter of his Counſels, by ſhewing of him that he was Maſter of Monſieur's: But his projects ſtopt not there, for from the beginning of the War he had taken his Meaſures to become Negotiater of the Peace, to which end he joyn'd himſelf to the Duke *de Rohan*, believing that he might be equally uſeful to him, both with Monſieur, and with Monſieur *le Prince*: He thought alſo, that he had taken all neceſſary precautions, as to the Cardinal, by the help of *Faber*; and as he ſet no bounds neither to his Ambition

nor his Hopes, he doubted not, having made the particular Peace, but that he ſhould be choſen to go along with the Cardinal *Mazarin* to conclude the general; and then he believed, in making uſe of the Reputation that Monſieur *le Prince* was able to give him among the *Spaniards*, he ſhould acquire all the merit of the good ſucceſs, and that the Cardinal on the contrary, would return loaden with ſhame, and accuſ'd of all the miſchievous Events, and ſo re-enter into the management of Affairs, either with the Glory of having made the Peace, or elſe with the Advantage of having publiſh'd to the World, that the Cardinal had hinder'd it. In proſpect whereof, he writ ſeveral times to the Prince of *Condy*, to preſs him to leave *Guyenne:* he repreſented to him how needful his Preſence was in the Army, that if he let that be deſtroy'd, all hopes of Recruits would be loſt; and that Marching into the Heart of the Kingdom, and even before the Kings Face, he would in a moment, not only re-eſtabliſh *Guyenne*, but alſo all the reſt of his party. The Prince of *Condy* yielded eaſily to Monſieur *Chavigny*'s perſwaſions, but the chief motive which induc'd him

him to it, was the desire he had to quit *Guyenne*, in a time when the weakness of his Army forc'd him continually to decline the Count *d'Harcourt*: He communicated his Design to the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, and *Marsin*, they both alike represented to him what there was to be fear'd, and what to be hoped in it, but neither of them would venture to give him their advice concerning it, but both immediately begg'd, that he would give them leave to wait upon him; he chose the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* to go along with him, and left *Marsin* with the Prince of *Conty*, reposing intirely upon him the design to maintain his Interest in *Guyenne*; and not only to preserve *Bourdeaux* in spight of all the divisions that had been fomented amongst the People, and in the Parliament, but also, to take care that the different Interests of the Prince of *Conty*, and Madam *de Longueville*, might not increase their misunderstandings, and so hasten the loss of the Town. The state of Affairs in the Town was thus, The people were divided in two Cabals, one whereof consisted of the richest Citizens, whose opinion was, That they ought to maintain the authority of their Magistrates,

and make themſelves ſo powerful and neceſſary in the Town, that both Monſieur *le Prince* and the Parliament might look upon them, as thoſe who were moſt capable to ſerve them: The other Cabal was form'd of the pooreſt & moſt ſeditious, who often aſſembling, though without any deſign, in a place near the Caſtle of *Ha*, call'd *Horme*; from thence took the name of *Hormees*. The Prince of *Conty*, and the Dutcheſs of *Longueville*, much more for their particular Intereſt, than for their Intereſt of the party, ſupported that Faction, and made it much more powerful in *Bourdeaux*. They both labored alike to accompliſh this Deſign, though for quite different Reaſons: The Prince *de Conty* inclin'd to Peace, through his natural fickleneſs, which chiefly made him hate the War, becauſe he had ſo earneſtly deſired it; he alledg'd afterwards, that Monſieur *le Prince*, after having ſet his hand that he would not Treat without his being made Governor of *Province*, was now abſolutely gone from his Word in what concern'd his Intereſts; but the principal reaſon of his diſingaging himſelf, was, that all thoſe about him (being gain'd by the Cardinal *Mazarin*) perſwaded him

him gloriouſly to break with the Dutcheſs *de Longueville*, upon pretexts which the near Alliance and Intereſt of Blood oblig'd him to conceal. As for the Dutcheſs *de Longueville*, ſhe then believ'd her ſelf irreconcilable with her Husband; ſhe had made many fruitleſs attempts to return to Court, by the Princeſs Palatine; ſhe beheld the Prince of *Conty* tranſported with rage and jealouſie, which had been much more pardonable in a Lover, than a Brother: Moreover, ſhe knew if the Prince of *Condy* ſpoke leſs of her behavior than he, that he had not a more advantageous opinion of it: He was inform'd how ſhe deſign'd to ruine his Party, by very extraordinary ways, for the Intereſt of the Duke *de Nemours*; and alſo fear'd, that if ſhe took a like Inclination to another, ſhe was liable to be carried to the ſame Extreams if he deſir'd it. Seeing her ſelf then equally ruin'd on either ſide, ſhe now believ'd that ſhe had no way left to reſtore her ſelf, but to make her ſelf a party in *Bourdeaux*, which might be powerful enough to give her a new Reputation, either with the Prince of *Condy*, or with the Court; in view whereof, ſhe found nothing ſo advantageous

tageous to her Deſign, as to joyn with the *Hormees*, and to engage her ſelf with the moſt conſiderable of them. Neither was the Parliament more united than the People; thoſe who were againſt the Court were divided into two Bodies, one whereof was call'd the Great, and the other the Little *Fronde*, although they both agreed to be of the Intereſt of Monſieur *le Prince*; they were very oppoſite in all other things. In the beginning the Army joyn'd with both the *Fronds*, but often ſeparated from them, which Changes were managed by different Intereſts, which commonly makes men act in that manner. But at length the Prince of *Conty*, and the Dutcheſs of *Longueville* increas'd the Credit and the Inſolence of that Faction ſo high to gain it to themſelves, that they advanc'd the ruine of the Party, by putting the Parliament and the reſt of the People in diſpair, and giving occaſion to ſo many Plots, and to all thoſe private Intelligences with the Court, which ſince put *Bourdeaux* into the Kings power. The Prince of *Conty* made uſe of theſe Diviſions to ruine his Siſters credit, and the Dutcheſs of *Longueville* endeavor'd to eſtabliſh it in *Bourdeaux*,

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to retrieve what ſhe had loſt with the Prince of *Condy*; but he who foreſaw what Inconveniencies ſuch oppoſite Opinions would produce in his party, and who believ'd moreover, That the Diſcontents and Diviſions increaſed by his abſence, left *Marſin*, as I ſaid, to put a ſtop to theſe great Diſorders, and on every occaſion to take care, that neither the Prince of *Conty*, nor the Dutcheſs of *Longueville*, undertook any thing that might be prejudicial to him, during his abſence; therefore as ſoon as he had regulated the Affairs of the Army, with *Marſin* and *Laiſny*, as alſo the Cabals of *Bourdeaux*, and thoſe in his own Family, he left the Prince of *Conty* behind him at *Agen*; and leaving all things under his management, he deſired him to follow the Advices of *Marſin* and *Laiſny*: He ſeem'd alſo to repoſe a great confidence in the Preſident *Viole*, but to ſpeak the truth, he did not think he left one man behind him in *Bourdeaux*, that was really true to his Intereſt, but only thoſe two that I have named. Things being thus ſettled, he prepar'd to quit *Agen*, to go and joyn Monſieur *de Nemour*'s Army: This Journy was extreamly long, and ſo full of Difficulties, that he

he could not reaſonably hope to ſurmount them. The Count *d'Harcourt* was Camp'd nigh *Agen*, and there was too many in the Town gain'd by the Court, not to inform him of Monſieur *le Prince*'s departure, thoſe of his own party had before ſuſpected it, inſomuch that it was reported, even before he had reſolv'd it himſelf; he was to go near ſix ſcore Leagues, and all the way upon the ſame Horſes, ſo that the Count *de Harcourt* might not only ſend a party to purſue him, or give advice to the Court of his going, but alſo ſend to all the Towns and Garriſons to ſtop him. Moreover, he could not confide a matter of ſuch Conſequence to many, and a few were not capable to accompany him with ſafety: It was neceſſary to perſwade the World, that he was only going to *Bourdeaux*, and to hinder the Officers of the Army from waiting upon him thither, upon pretences which could give no cauſe of ſuſpecting what he deſign'd: for which reaſon he left the Prince of *Conty* at *Agen*, and pretending to go to *Bourdeaux* for two or three days, only he gave Orders to all the Officers and Voluntiers, to ſtay at *Agen* with his Brother. From whence he parted on *Palm Sunday*,

Sunday, about twelve of the Clock, accompanyed by the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, *le Prince*, *de Marcillac*, *Guitault*, and *Chavinac*, *Gourville*, and one *valet de Chambre*: The Marquis *de Levy* waited with Horſes for him at *Langez*, where he found alſo *Bercénes*, Captain of the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*'s Guards. And as the Marquis *de Levy* had a Paſs from the Count *d'Harcourt*, to return home with all his Train to his own Houſe in *Auvergne*, the Prince of *Condy*, and thoſe that accompanyed him, follow'd him as his Attendants, and were to go for the ſame Servants whoſe Names were written in his Paſs, though they were reſolv'd never to make uſe of it. What was moſt ſevere in this Journy, was, That our extraordinary haſte oblidged us to Travel both Day and Night, and almoſt always upon the ſame Horſes, without ever ſtaying any where above two hours in one place, either to ſleep or eat: They lodg'd at two or three Gentlemens Houſes, Friends of the Marquis *de Levy*'s, to take ſome ſmall reſt, and to ſee if they could buy any Horſes: But theſe Gentlemen ſo little ſuſpected Monſieur *le Prince* to be what he was, that once at Dinner, when Men commonly

monly ſpeak their Thoughts more freely than at other times, he heard things of ſome of thoſe that were neareſt him, which till then it may be he never knew. At length, taking his way through the Vicounty of *Turenne* and *Charlus* in *Auvergne*, he arriv'd on Saturday night at *Bac-d Alier*, two Leagues diſtant from *la Charity*, where he paſt the River *de Loire* without any interruption, although that two Troops of Horſe lay in *la Charity*, Commanded by *Buſſy Robatin*: From thence he diſpatch'd *Gourville* in all haſte to *Paris*, to inform his Royal Highneſs and *Chavigny* of his coming. He ſtaid all *Eaſter Day* in *Coſnes*, where a Guard was kept; and as the Court was but at *Gien*, he pretended that he was going thither, with the reſt of his Companions, to wait their Quarter upon the King; nevertheleſs, finding that they could not long keep the Highway to the Court, without being known, they reſolv'd to quit it, and take that which leads to *Chatillon*, and he began to think he had reaſon to repent his neglecting it ſo long: For meeting two Couriers, whereof one knew *Guitaut*, and though he did not ſtop to ſpeak to him, ſhew'd concern enough in his Face to make them

them think that he ſuſpected Monſieur *le Prince* to be there, which he preſently after diſcovered to be certainly true. For afterwards meeting with Monſieur *le Prince's Valet de Chambre*, who had ſtaid behind, he ſtopt him, and by making him believe he would kill him, he perceiv'd that his ſuſpition was well founded; which accident made Monſieur *le Prince* reſolve not only to quit the High Road that very time, but alſo to leave *Bercennes*, Captain of the Guards, to the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, amongſt the rubbiſh of a ruin'd Houſe, near a Bridge, to kill the Courier in caſe he took that Road, which appear'd the way he muſt go to give notice to the Court, of the Prince of *Condy's* Journy. But Fortune led his ſteps another way, ſo that he carried in haſte to *Gien* the News of what he had ſeen. St. *Maure* was preſently diſpatch'd with twenty choſen men to watch for Monſieur *le Prince*, in the way between *Chaſtillon* and the Duke *de Nemour's* Army, with order to take him either alive or dead. The Prince of *Condy*, although he ſaw that this Incounter muſt inevitably diſcover his Paſſage, march'd with full ſpeed towards *Chaſtillon*: But as we were

forced

forced to go that day Six and thirty Leagues upon the ſame Horſes, the neceſſity of Baiting made us loſe much time, and gave St. *Maure* what he wiſh'd for, to overtake us. Another accident alſo had like to have caus'd Monſieur *le Prince* to be taken, for being come to the *Canal de Briare*, he met the Quarter-maſters of two or three Regiments of Horſe, who came thither before for Quarters; and as the main Body advanc'd from different parts, it was difficult to take any way ſecure. *Chavaignac*, who was acquainted with a Gentleman named *la Bruſlery*, who liv'd near that place, taking *Guitaut* with him to get ſomthing for the Prince of *Condy* to eat. But as that was a day deſtin'd to Adventures, as ſoon as ever *Chavaignac* went out of the Houſe to ſeek for the Maſter of it, and to invite *Guitaut* in, an Officer of the fore-mentioned Regiments came thither; and all that the Miſtreſs of the Houſe could do, in the Fear ſhe was in, leſt ſome diſturbance might arrive in her Houſe by the meeting of Men of different Parties, was to ſend her Daughter to meet *Guitaut*, and tell him, That an Officer of the Kings Army was juſt come into the Houſe, Whil'ſt this

this happened, Monſieur *le Prince*, who ſtaid expecting *Chauaignac* and *Guitaut*, could remain no longer in the place that they had left him in, becauſe of the arrival of the Souldiers, he ſent his *Valet de Chambre* before to *Chaſtillon*, to tell the Houſe-keeper to have the Park gates open, ſo that he had no body left with him but the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* and the Prince *de Marcillac*. They went nevertheleſs ſtill on towards *Chaſtillon*, the Prince *de Marcillac* rode about one hundred yards before, Monſieur *le Prince*, and the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* followed him about the ſame diſtance, that either of them might give him notice if any danger approach'd, which might give him the advantage to ſave himſelf. They had not rode on far in that poſture, when they heard the noiſe of ſhooting off Piſtols, that way which the *Valet de Chambre* was gon, and immediately there appeared four Horſe-men upon their left hand, who came Trotting up towards them: They undoubtedly believ'd they were purſued, therefore concluded to Charge theſe four men that advanc'd toward them, and Faced about with a Reſolution rather to dye than be taken: But being come nearer, they

perceived it was *Chavaignac*, who, with three other Gentlemen, had been ſeeking after them, and from thence they all arriv'd at *Chaſtillon* without any further danger. And there the Prince of *Condy* heard news of his Army that he was going to joyn; he was told that it was not far from *Lory*, near the Foreſt of *Orleans*, about eight Leagues diſtance from *Chaſtillon*. He was told moreover, That there was ten or twelve Light-horſe of the Kings Guard, beſides ſeveral of the Kings Officers, lodg'd in the Town of *Chaſtillon*; wherefore fearing to be diſcovered, he parted from thence for *Lory* in all ſpeed about Midnight, with a Guide, but the Guide had like to have been the cauſe of his being taken; for after having travelled a long time, he found they were not above a little League from *Gien*, when quitting that Road, to go into that which leads to *Lory*, Monſieur *le Prince* paſſed within thirty yards of the place, where *Saint Maur* waited for him; and whether it was that he knew him not, or that he durſt not attack him, nothing interrupted his paſſage to *Lory*, where he had certain intelligence of his Army, which lay but two Leagues from him:

He

He would have ſtaid to have baited his Horſes at *Lory*; but although he ſtill took the ſame care to diſguiſe himſelf, thathe had done all the reſt of the way, Both he and the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, were known by ſome of the Inhabitants of the Town, many whereof were the Kings and the Duke *d'Orleans*'s Servants; but that rather prov'd ſerviceable to him than hinder'd him, for ſome of them got on Horſeback, and bore him company to the Army. He met the Van-Guard at the entry of the Foreſt of *Orleans*, where ſome of the Horſe ask'd him, Who comes there? but immediately knowing of him, the whole Army was in ſo great Surpriſe and Joy, that it cannot be expreſs'd, for it never had more need of him, and never leſs expected to ſee him. The animoſity between the Duke *de Nemours*, and the Duke *de Beanford* ſtill increaſed, inſomuch, that the hopes of the party daily diminiſhed by the Diviſions that were amongſt the Heads of it, and at a time when the approaches of the King and his Army, ought to have made them prefer the Publick Intereſt before Private Quarrels, to make an end whereof, was of too great Importance to Monſieur

le Prince, not to endeavor it with all imaginable eagerneſs; and what plain'd his way, and made it more eaſie for him to perform, was, That his arrival taking away from them both, their chief Commands, it alſo took away the principal Spring which fed their Jealouſie and Hatred. Things being in this poſture, the Army march'd to *Lory*, where it reſted one day, and then march'd forward three or four more; in which time they came to the Walls of *Montargis*, which yielded without the leaſt reſiſtance; but they ſoon quitted that place, which being ſtored with Corn and Wine, might be ſerviceable in time of more need: beſides, it would be an example of their moderation, which might produce many advantageous Effects to the party in other Towns. The Army march'd from *Montargis* to *Chaſteau-renard*, where *Gourville* arriv'd at the ſame time from *Paris*, to inform the Prince what his Friends opinions were, how he ought to carry himſelf towards Monſieur and the Parliament: Their Counſels were quite different, for ſome of them adviſed him to ſtay with the Army, repreſenting to him, That the whole Reſolutions of Monſieur and the Parliament, always de-

depended upon the event of this War, and that as long as he was at the Head of a Victorious Army, the Power of the King would be in his hands, inſtead whereof, his going to *Paris* would deprive his Army of all the Reputation which his preſence gave them, and would oblige him to leave the Command of it to thoſe ſame people, whoſe Diviſions and Incapacities were before upon the very Brink of producing ſo great Diſorder. *Chavigny*, on the contrary, ſent poſitively to Monſieur *le Prince*, that his Preſence was abſolutely neceſſary at *Paris*, that the Cabals of the Court and of Cardinal *de Rets*, daily increaſed in the Parliament, and undoubtedly they would draw the Duke *d'Orleans* in to them; if Monſieur *le Prince* came not himſelf to free him from the dependance he was now in, and to put the Duke *de Rohan* and *Chavigny* in poſſeſſion of a place, for which without his preſence, they could not contend any longer with the Cardinal *de Rets*. But the Diſpute ended, in that they both concluded it was the beſt courſe now to fall upon the Kings Army. At this time the Prince had advice, That the Marſhal *d'Hoquincourt*'s Brigade was ſtill

in quarters, ſeparated from the reſt of the Army very near *Chaſtean-Renard*, & that the next day they were to joyn with the Marſhal *de Turenne*, which made him reſolve to March that very moment with his whole Army, ſtraight to attack the Marſhal *d'Hoquincourt*, before he could have time to draw his Troops together, and retreat to the Marſhal *de Turenne*; which Attempt prov'd very ſucceſsful. On his firſt approach, he fell upon two of their Quarters, which gave the Alarm to the reſt, but that hinder'd him not from being preſently Victorious over five, whereof the four firſt made ſmall reſiſtance: But the Marſhal *d'Hoquincourt* drawing himſelf up in Battle with Eight hundred Horſe, upon the ſide of a Brook, where they could not paſs over but one by one, upon a Bank of Earth very narrow and much broken, ſeem'd as if he would Diſpute this Paſs with them; beyond which, the reſt of his Men were Quartered that they were going to attack: But when he ſaw that thoſe under the Command of the Duke *de Nemours*, and three or four others were paſs'd, he retreated behind the Quarters, leaving them to be plunder'd, and rang'd himſelf there again in Battle,

to

to try if he could take his time, and Charge them in the heat of the Plunder. Thoſe Quarters there, made no more reſiſtance than the others had done, but the Houſes being all thatch'd, as ſoon as they had ſet them on Fire, they gave ſo great a Light, that it was eaſie for the Marſhal *d'Hoquencourt* to diſcern the number of men that were paſs'd over, and perceiving that there was not above One hundred Horſe, he advanc'd with above Eight hundred to attack them. The Prince of *Condy*, who ſaw the Force of that Cavalry juſt coming to break upon them, preſently made a Squadron of thoſe that were about him, and went to meet the Enemy, though with ſo unequal a number, that it appear'd as if Chance had drawn them together in that place, all the General Officers of his Army, to ſhew him how much one unproſperous Event was capable to make him loſe, the firſt Rank where he himſelf was, was compos'd of the Duke *de Nemours*, the Duke *de Beaufort*, and the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, the Prince *de Marcillac*, the Marquis *de Clinchant*, who Commanded the *Spaniſh* Troops, the Count *de Tauanes* Lieuten. General, *Guitault*, *Gaucourt*, and ſeveral other Officers:

The two Squadrons diſcharg'd upon each other very cloſe, without one man ſtirring a foot; but two others engaging preſently after, that which Monſieur *le Prince* was at the head of, the Duke *de Nemours* received a Shot with a Piſtol quite through his Body, and had his Horſe killed under him. The Prince of *Condy*'s Squadron not being able any longer to maintain their Ground againſt two ſo violent Charges, foot to foot, broke, and retreated One hundred yards in diſorder, towards the Quarter which was on Fire; but the Prince, and the reſt of the General Officers that were with him, geting again to the head of it ſtop it, and the Enemy was ſatisfied with making them retire, without preſſing it any further: There was only ſome few Officers and Horſe that advanced, and the Prince *de Marcillac*, who was a dozen or fifteen yards behind the retiring Squadron, turn'd about to an Officer, and kill'd him. Between the two Squadrons, the Prince of *Condy*, as was ſaid before, ſtop'd his men, and made them face about to the Enemy, which durſt not puſh the advantage they had gain'd for fear they ſhould be back'd with Foot. This diſorder had given time to a Squa-

dron

dron of thirty choſen Men to paſs the Brook: The Prince of *Condy* immediately put himſelf at the head of them, with the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, and attack'd the Marſhal *d'Hoquencourt* in the Flank, while the Duke *de Beaufort* charged him in the Front, with a Squadron that the Prince had left him for that purpoſe, which totally overthrew the Enemy; ſome whereof flew into *Bleneau*, and the reſt they purſu'd three or four Leagues towards *Auxerre*, without ever endeavoring ſo much as to rally: They loſt all their Baggage, beſides Three hundred Horſes that were taken. The Victory had been much greater, but that Monſieur *le Prince* was informed, that the Marſhal *de Turenne*'s Army was come in ſight. This News made him return back to his Foot which were ſcattered about to Plunder; and after having rallied his Men, he marched toward the Marſhal *de Turenne*, who had drawn up his Army in a large Plain, within leſs then Musket ſhot of a far extended Wood, through the middle whereof the Prince of *Condy*'s Army was to paſs, to come to him. This Paſſage was wide enough of it ſelf for ten Squadrons to march in a Front; but as it was a very Marſhy Ground, they were

were oblig'd to make ſo many Ditches to drain it, that they could not march to the Plain without breaking their Ranks. The Prince of *Condy*, ſeeing that the plain was poſſeſſed by the Enemy, put his Foot upon the Right hand, and the Left into that part of the Wood which was nigheſt the Enemies Army, to force them to a greater diſtance. This work'd the effect that he deſired, for the Marſhal *Turenne*, fearing to be endamag'd by the Muſqueteers, left that Poſt and went to take another a little farther off, and upon a higher Ground than Monſieur *le Prince*; but the removal which he made for that, perſwaded Monſieur *le Prince* that he was retiring for *Gien*, and that he might eaſily cut them off in the diſorder of the Retreat, before they arrived there: For which reaſon he Advanced his Horſe, and made ſix Squadrons paſs unrank'd in all haſte to enter upon the Plain; but Marſhal *Turenne* conſidering what a diſadvantage it would be to give Battle upon the Plain to Monſieur *le Prince*'s Army, heightned with Victory, and alſo ſtronger than his own, rather choſe to return with their Swords in their hands, and fall upon the ſix Squadrons, to defeat

thoſe that were paſs'd, and to ſtop the reſt from paſſing. Monſieur *le* Prince, who judged what he intended, firſt paſs'd his Horſe, and then thoſe who were unrank'd for that purpoſe, hindering the Enemy from approaching without great diſadvantage, ſo they were content on both ſides with only advancing the Artillery, and for a long time playing the Canon at each other, the ſucceſs whereof prov'd not at all equal; for beſides that, Monſieur *de Turenne* had a much greater number of Canon, and better ſerv'd than the Enemy; they had alſo the advantage of the higheſt Ground upon them. Moreover, Monſieur *le Prince*'s men being incloſed within the paſſage that parts the two Woods, there was ſcarcely any Shot that did not execution, inſomuch that there was kill'd ſixſcore Horſemen, beſides ſeveral Officers, amongſt which was *Maré*, Brother to the Marſhal *de Grancy*. And in this maner they paſs'd the reſt of the day. About Sun-ſet, the Marſhal *de Turenne* retreated towards *Gien*. The Marſhal *d'Hoquencourt*, who ſince his Defeat had joyn'd with him, ſtaid in the Rear-Guard, and going with ſome Officer to withdraw thoſe Squadrons which were nigheſt the Enemy,

Enemy, he was retain'd by Monſieur *le* Prince, who ſent to tell him, That he ſhould be very glad to ſee him, and that he might advance upon his word. He did what Monſieur *le* Prince deſired him, and advanced, accompanied only with ſome few Officers; and Monſieur *le* Prince had the Dukes *de la Rochefoucault* and *Beaufort*, with two or three more who waited upon him. All their Converſation paſs'd in Civilities, and in Raillery on Monſieur *le* Prince's ſide, and in Juſtification on the Marſhal *d'Hoquincourt*'s, concerning what had hapened to him that day, complaining extreamly of Monſieur *de Turenne*, though one may ſay with Juſtice, he did that day two Actions great and bold, whereof the Succeſs was the cauſe of his own Safety, as alſo the preſervation of the Court; for aſſoon as ever he knew that the Marſhal *d'Hoquincourt's* Brigade, which was to joyn with him the next day, was attack'd. He march'd with a very few men to that place where Monſieur *le* Prince found him drawn up in Batalia, every minute expecting the reſt of his Souldiers, expoſing himſelf thereby to have been inevitably defeated, if Monſieur *le* Prince had march'd ſtraight to him,

him, inſtead of purſuing two or three Leagues, as he did thoſe Troops that he had routed in the night; he preſerv'd alſo that ſame day the reſt of the Kings Army, with eminent Valour and Conduct, when he turn'd upon Monſieur *le Prince*'s ſix Squadrons who had paſs'd unrank'd upon the Plain, by which Action he ſtop'd an Army which would undoubtedly have cut his quite off, if it could but have drawn up in the ſame Plain. The Kings Army being retreated, Monſieur *le Prince*, with his, took the way that leads to *Chaſtillon*, and went that Night and lodg'd in Quarters upon the Canal *de Briare*, near *la Bruſlery*, and the next day arriv'd at *Chaſtillon* with all his Army, whereof two days after he left the Command to *Clinchant* and the Count *de Tauanes*, and went to *Paris* with the Dukes *de Beaufort* and *de la Rochefoucault*. This Journy prov'd of greater importance than at that time he thought it was, for I am perſwaded, that the only deſire to go to *Paris*, and there to receive the general applauſe which his ſucceſs in ſo dangerous a Journy, and in obtaining ſo great a Victory had merited, made him incline to *Chavigny*'s Reaſons, who really endeavor'd to ſupport himſelf by the

Preſence

Preſence and Authority of Monſieur *le Prince*,& to poſſeſs the place,the Cardinal *de Rets* held with the Duke *de Orleans*: he hoped, as I ſaid before, to make himſelf not onely equally conſiderable to theſe two Princes, in perſwading of them both that he was the real cauſe of their Union, but believing, that that was the eaſieſt way to ſucceed in the project which he had laid with *Faber*; therefore he preſs'd Monſieur *le Prince* to come to *Paris*,to oppoſe all the Attempts that Cardinal *de Rets* made upon Monſieur, as alſo to increaſe the good will of the Parliament, who had by an Act which they made, ſet a price upon Cardinal *Mazarin*'s head: Whatſoever eſteem Mounſieur *le Prince* had of *Chavigny*'s Advice, he ſtill followed it, he was receiv'd in *Paris* with ſo many Acclamations and Teſtimonies of publick Joy, that he believ'd he had no reaſon to repent himſelf of his Journy. Things remain'd in this ſtate for ſome time, but the Army wanting Forrage about *Chaſtillon* and *Mountargis*, and not daring either to come nigher, or go farther off from *Paris*, it march'd to *Eſtampes*, where they believed it might remain ſome conſiderable time with ſurety, and abundance

abundance of all things. The Duke *de Nemours* was not cur'd of his Wounds, when news was brought to the Prince of *Condy*, that ſome of the Kings Troops, commanded by the Count *de Moiſſens*, and the Marquis *de St. Meſgren*, Lieutenant Generals, were marching from *St. Germains* to *St. Cloud*, with two pieces of Canon, with deſign to beat off a hundred men of the Regiment *de Condy*, which had Fortified themſelves upon the Bridge by breaking down one Arch of it; this news made Monſieur *le Prince* get on Horſeback, and go thither with only thoſe who were about him. The noiſe of which being ſpread through all *Paris*, all the People of Quality came after him to *Boulogne*, who were follow'd by eight or ten thouſand Citizens in Arms. The Kings Forces contented with Firing ſome few Shots with their Canon, retired without ever attempting to make themſelves Maſter of the Bridge. The Prince of *Condy*, who was reſolv'd to make an advantage of this good diſpoſition of the Citizens, having given them Officers, marched them to *St. Denis*, where he heard there was a Garriſon of Two hundred *Swiſſes*: He arrived there juſt about the cloſing in of the Day: Thoſe who

who were in the Town, having taken the Alarm, inſtantly yielded it up to the Beſiegers.

Monſieur *le Prince* being in the middle of Three hundred Horſemen, conſiſting of thoſe he believ'd the braveſt and moſt couragious of his Party, the *Swiſſes* indeavored to defend ſome Baracado's in the Town, but being too violently preſs'd, they retreated into the Abby, where two hours after they yielded themſelves Priſoners of War: There was no manner of rudeneſs offered, either to the Inhabitants or the Convents. Monſieur *le* Prince retir'd to *Paris*, leaving *Deſlandes*, a Captain in the Regiment *de Condy*, with Two hundred men in *St. Dennis*, which was retaken the ſame night by the Kings Forces, but *Deſiandes* retir'd into the Church where he held out three days: though there was nothing in this Action very conſiderable in it ſelf, by any Circumſtance, yet it increaſed the Citizens affections to Monſieur *le* Prince; and they were ſo much the more liberal of their praiſes to him, as every one thought himſelf a witneſs of his Courage, and of the Danger which he believed he ran on that occaſion. The

Duke

Duke de *Rohan*, and *Chavigny* notwithſtanding, ſtill purſu'd their firſt Deſign; and took the advantage of ſo favourable a juncture, to make propoſitions of Peace: they believ'd that the Court would fulfill with all ſincerity, thoſe things which they knew *Faber* had only made overtures to them of to ingage them with the *Cardinal*, who indeavoured to make uſe of them, to draw the *Duke* of *Orleans* and Monſieur *le* Prince into that abyſſe of negotiations, whereof the bottom was never ſeen, and alwayes proved the means of his preſervation, as it was the ruin of his enemies; to ſay truth, from the very firſt day of Monſieur *le Princes* Arrival, Intrigues, and Cabals, were received on every ſide; and whether he was weary of maintaining ſo laborious a War, or that ſtaying at *Paris* had given him both an inclination and a hope of Peace, at length he quitted for a time all other thoughts, but only to ſeek all means to conclude it as advantagiouſly as he had deſigned. The Duke *de Rohan* and *Chavigny*, gave him great hopes, to oblige him to lay upon them the care of this negotiation, and to permit them to go with *Goulas* alone to *St. Germains*, Loaded with his and the

Duke *de Orlean's* intereſts: it was alſo propoſed to ſend the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, and Monſieur *le Prince* deſired it for many reaſons, but he excuſed him in that he believed the Peace to be already concluded between Monſieur and the Court, by the ſecret meditation of *Cavigni*, without Monſieur *le* Princes having any ſhare in it; or that it would not be then concluded, not only becauſe Monſieur *le* Princes pretencions were great, but alſo that the Duke *de Rohan* and *Chavigny* would ſecure their own, whereof I have already ſpoken, preferring it before the reſt. So the Duke *de Rohan*, *Chavigny*, and *Goulas* went to *St. German* with expreſs command not to ſee Cardinal *Mazarin*, nor treat of any thing with him: Monſieurs demands conſiſted Principally of the expulſion of the Cardinal, but thoſe of Monſieur *le* Prince was of greater extent, becauſe having engag'd both the City & Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, & a great number of perſons of Quality in his party, he made many particular treaties with them, in which he engaged himſelf not to make any with the Court, without comprehending their intereſts in the manner that I ſhall relate to you hereafter: there was no body doubted of theſe Gentelmens

ſucceſs

ſucceſs in their Journey; beſides there was no likelyhood that a man ſo capable as *Chavigny* was, and ſo knowing both in the Court, and the Cardinal by ſo much experience, would ingage himſelf in ſo weighty a Negotiation, (having managed it three Months) without being aſſur'd of the Succeſs. But this opinion laſted not long, for they found by the return of the Deputies, that they had not only treated with Cardinal *Mazarine*, againſt the expreſs order, that had been given them; but alſo in ſtead of demanding for the Prince of Condy, what was in their Inſtructions; they inſiſted Principally upon eſtabliſhing a neceſſary Councel, in form almoſt like that which the late King ordered juſt before he dyed; only with this addition, that they ſhould perſwade Monſieur *le Prince* to give his conſent, that Cardinal *Mazerin* ſhould go inſtead of himſelf with *Chavigny*, to treat about the generall Peace, and that he might return again into *France*, after it was concluded. as theſe Propoſitions were far both from the Intereſt, and intentions of Monſieur *le* Prince; he received them mightily diſſatisfied with *Chavigny*, and reſolved from thence forward, never to let him know of any of his ſecret Treaties with the Court:

to which end he ſent *Gourvill* with an inſtruction framed in the preſence of the Ducheſs of *Chaſtillon*, and of the Dukes *de Nemours* and *Rochefoucault*: the contents whereof were as follows; Firſt that all the Negotiations which had paſſed that day, ſhould be null; and that a poſitive anſwer was required to every point, I, or no; it being impoſſible to be more moderate upon any one; therefore as nothing but ſincere dealing was intended, he would promiſe nothing that he would not juſtly perform, but then he would be ſecure of every thing that ſhould be promiſed him. It was demanded that Cardinal *Mazarin* might inſtantly go out of the Kingdome; and that he ſhould retire to *Bouillon*, and that the power of concluding the general Peace ſhould be conferr'd upon the Duke of *Orleans* and himſelf; and that they might immediately proceed in it, to which end he would yield to any condition that ſhould be juſt and reaſonable, and that he might ſend into *Spain* to agree the place of Conference; That the Council ſhould conſiſt of People not ſuſpected, whom they ſhou'd conſent to; that the high Treaſurer ſhould be diſcharged from his Office, and that the Treaſury ſhould be govern'd by faithful Officers;

That

That all thoſe who had ſerv'd either the Duke of *Orleans*, or the Prince of *Condy*, ſhould be reſtor'd to their Eſtates and Offices, Governments, Penſions and Aſſignments, which ſhould be ſecur'd upon good Funds, as alſo the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Princes; That the Duke of *Orleans* ſhould be ſatisfied in what he ſhould deſire on his part, either for himſelf, or his friends; That all the Soldiers and Officers which had follow'd the Princes, ſhould be treated in the ſame manner as they were before, and ſhould be in the ſame eſteem which they had ever been; That thoſe things might be granted to the Town of *Bourdeaux*, which they had ask'd before the War, and for which they had ſent Deputies to the Court; That they ſhould yield that the Taxes might be moderated in the Country of *Guienne*, which ſhould be ſincerely conſented to; That the Prince of *Conty* might be allow'd to treat with Monſieur *d'Angouleſme* about the Government of *Provence*, and that he might either give him his Government of *Champagne* in exchange, or ſell it to whom he ſhould think fit, to give him the Money for it; and for the ſurplus of the Money, that he ſhould be aſſiſted

as it ſhould be judg'd moſt convenient That the Government of *Auvergne* ſhould be given to the Duke *de Nemours*; That permiſſion might be given to the Preſident *Viole* to treat about the Place of Preſident *Au*, *Mortier*, or of Secretary of State, and that they ſhould give their Words that he ſhould be the Firſt; and that a Sum of Money ſhould be order'd that minute to make the recompence more eaſie, that the Breviat which the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* demanded like that of the Meſſieurs *de Boulogns*, and *de Guimené* might be granted him, as alſo the Government of *Angoulmois*, and of *Xaintonge*, or elſe the ſum of Six ſcore thouſand Crowns given him, beſides Commiſſion to treat for the aforeſaid Governments, or any other whatſoever; That a Breviat ſhould be given to the Prince *de Tarante*, concerning his Rank, the ſame as that of Monſieur *de Bouillon*'s; and that he ſhou'd be put into immediate poſſeſſion of it, and that they ſhould make him ſatisfaction for all the loſſes he had ſuſtained by the taking and raiſing of *Tailleb urg*, according to the eſtimation that he ſhould give in; and that Monſieur *Marſin*, and Monſieur *de Dognoin*

ſhould

ſhould be Mareſchals of *France*, that a Patent for Duke ſhould be given to Monſieur *de Monteſpan*; That the Duke *de Rohan* ſhould be reſtor'd to his Government of *Anjou*, and *Angers*, and have the Bridge of *Cé*, as alſo the Juriſdiction of *Saumeurs* deliver'd to him; That the Government of *Berguerac*, and *St. Foy*, ſhould be given to Monſieur *de la Force*, and the Reverſion to Monſieur *de Chaſteau-neuf*; and alſo Monſieur *le* Marquis *de Perſan* might be aſſur'd to be made Knight of the Order of the Holy Ghoſt the firſt vacancy; and that a Breviat might be given him to that purpoſe, as alſo the ſum of Fifty thouſand Crowns to buy him a Government; to which was added a promiſe to lay down Arms, and unfeignedly conſent to all the advantages that Cardinal *Mazarin* ſhould propoſe for his Juſtification; and for his return in three Months, or till ſuch time as Monſieur *le* Prince having agreed upon every particular of the general Peace with *Spain*, being upon the place of Conference with the Spaniſh Miniſters, ſhould ſend word that the Peace was ready to Sign, which he would defer Signing till Cardinal *Mazarin* was return'd.

The Cardinal gave ear to these Propositions of *Gourville*, and appear'd very willing to consent to them, either because he really intended to agree to what was propos'd, or because he was willing to have the obstacles seem to come from some other; but the Duke *de Bouillon*, who was in fear that the Peace should be made without his having the Dutchy *d'Albret*, which was to be given up to him by Monsieur *le* Prince, as part of his satisfaction for *Sedan*, told the Cardinal, that since he believed it just to oblige the Friends of Monsieur *le* Prince, who were his sworn Enemies, he could not but think it yet more reasonable to do justice to those (who had assisted him, and maintain'd his interest against Monsieur *le* Prince, and against whom he could find nothing to say) rather than to the Dukes *de Nemours*, and *la Rochefoucault*, *Marsin*, and others. Therefore for his part he thought that having so considerable an Interest, as the Dutchy *d'Albret*, nothing ought to be concluded without obliging Monsieur *le* Prince to satisfie him concerning that. With whatsoever intention the Duke *de Bouillon* offer'd these Reasons, they stopt

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the Cardinals proceedings, who ſent *Gourville* to Monſieur *le* Prince to raiſe this difficulty; but though all great affairs are ſubject to delays, this Peace had more reaſon than any other, becauſe it not only depended upon ſo many diſrent intereſts, and regarded ſo many oppoſite Parties, which endeavor'd to break it; but above all, becauſe it was managed by the Prince of *Condy* on one part, and Cardinal *Mazarin* on the other, who though they had ſundry qualities directly oppoſite, yet ſtill they agreed in many things, and particularly to treat of all ſorts of Affairs, with unlimited Pretentions; ſo that as ſoon as ones demand was granted them, they ſtill believ'd it in their power to obtain more, and ſo much perſwaded themſelves that all was due to their good Fortune; that the ballance could not hang long enough in a juſt poiſe betwixt 'em, to give them time to reſolve of a Treaty, and to conclude it; beſides, many other obſtacles were join'd to theſe; it was the intereſt of the Cardinal *de Rets* to hinder the Peace; becauſe it being made without his having a hand in it, and the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Condy* being united to the Court, he would

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be left expos'd without protection; then again, *Chavigny* enraged at the ill ſucceſs of his Negoation, being exaſperated both againſt the Court, and Monſieur *le* Prince, rather wiſh'd to ſee the Peace not effected, than to ſee it concluded by any other Expedients than his own; I cannot tell the conformity of Intereſts which was then between the Cardinal *de Rets*, and *Chavigny*, which made them act unitedly to oppoſe the Treaty of Monſieur *le* Prince, or if either of them moved the Duke of *Orleans* to act in it; but I have been ſince inform'd by one whom I ought to believe, that even at the time that *Gourville* was at *St. Germains*, the Duke of *Orleans* ſent to Cardinal *Mazarin* by the Duke *d' Anville*, to forbid him to conclude any thing with Monſieur *le* Prince, for that he alone would have the merit of making the Peace with the Court; and that he was ready to ſubmit himſelf to the King, and by that to give an example, which ſhould be follow'd both by the People and the Parliament of *Paris*; There was appearance that a Propoſition like this ſhould be preferr'd before all the reſt, and to ſay truth, whether it was for this reaſon, or whether it was for that which I have already

already ſaid, of the natures of Monſieur *le* Prince, and the Cardinal, or, as I always believ'd, that the Cardinal was ever againſt the Peace, and that he only made uſe of thoſe Negotiations, as ſo many ſnares wherein to take his Enemies. In fine, things in a little time grew ſo confus'd, and were ſo far from coming to an iſſue, that the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* was againſt any of his Peoples having farther concern in a Negotiation which ruin'd his Party; therefore he charg'd *Gourville* to preſs the Cardinal to return a poſitive anſwer, the ſecond time he went *St. Germain*, with order to return no more thither. Beſides, though the Prince of *Condy* himſelf was never conſtantly fixt for a Peace, he was continually oppos'd by the different Intereſts of thoſe, who endeavoured to divert it; the Enemies of Cardinal *Mazarine* thought themſelves not ſufficiently reveng'd, if he ſtay'd in *France*, and Cardinal *de Rets*, judg'd that an Agreement with the Prince of *Condy* would take away from him all the eſteem he was in, and expoſe him to his Enemies; but on the contrary a War could not laſt, but that it muſt either deſtroy Monſieur *le* Prince, or force away

away Cardinal *Mazarin*, and then he alone poſſeſſing the Duke of *Orleans*, might by that means make himſelf conſiderable at Court, and from thence make his advantage. On the other ſide the Spaniards offer'd the Prince of *Condy* whatſoever they thought moſt capable to tempt him, expoſing all to prolong the civil War: his neareſt Relations, his Friends and menial Servants buoy'd up this Sentiment by their particular Intereſts. In fine, all was divided into Cabals, either to make the Peace, or continue the War, the moſt refin'd and moſt judicious Reaſons in Politicks were by both Parties ſet in view of Monſieur *le* Prince, to incline him to their ſide. When Madam *de Chaſtillon* invited him to a deſire of Peace by a more pleaſing means, ſhe believed that ſo great a good ought only to be the effect of her Beauty, and adding Ambition to the deſign of a new Conqueſt, endeavoured at once to deprive the Court of the advantages of the Negotiation, and triumph over the Heart of Monſieur *le* Prince; neither were theſe the only reaſons which produced theſe thoughts, the Intereſts of Vanity and Revenge, had no leſs a part in them, the emula-

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tion which Beauty and Gallantry often brings forth amongſt Ladies, had caus'd an extream hatred between the Ducheſs *de Longueville* and Madam *de Chaſtillon*; which though for a long time they had hid, at length it broke out openly on both ſides, and Madam *de Chaſtillon* not only extended her Victory to oblige Monſieur *de Nemours* to break off all Commerce with the Ducheſs *de Longueville* with the moſt exaſperating and publick circumſtances, but endeavoured alſo to take from her the knowledge of all affairs, that ſhe alone might govern the Actions, and Intereſts of Monſieur *le* Prince: The Duke *de Nemours*, who was deeply engaged with her, approv'd of this Deſign, for he thought that he could govern Madam *de Chaſtillons* behaviour towards Monſieur *le* Prince, and that ſhe being able to inſpire him with whatſoever ſentiments ſhe pleas'd, he ſhould govern Monſieur *le* Prince by the power he had over her. The Duke *de la Rochefoucault* had at that time a greater ſhare than any one in the ſecrets of Monſieur *le* Prince, and was alſo in a ſtrict Bond with the Duke *de Nemours*, and Madam *de Chaſtillon*; he knew how irreſolute the Prince of *Condy* was about the Peace,

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and apprehending what really afterwards came to pass, that the Spanish, and the Duchess of *Longueville*'s Cabals would join together to remove Monsieur *le Prince* from *Paris*, where he might daily treat without their participation, he also believ'd that Madam *de Chastillon*'s design would remove all obstacles to the Peace, for which reason he perswaded Monsieur *le* Prince to join with her, and to make her a Present of *Merlou*; he also work'd her to manage Monsieur *le* Prince, & the Duke *de Nemours* in such a manner, that she might keep them both, and make the Duke *de Nemours* approve of that League, which he ought not to suspect, since nothing was to be acted that he was not to be inform'd of, and no other use to be made of it than to advance him to the principal management of Affairs; this design being fram'd and guided by the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, he had almost the entire disposition of it; and thus all four finding equally such advantage in it, it had at length without doubt found its propos'd success, had not fortune oppos'd it by so many unavoidable accidents: Nevertheless Madam *de Chastillon* appear'd at Court with all the lustre, that her new

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Truſt could give her; ſhe went thither with ſo general a Power to diſpoſe of Monſieur *le* Prince's Affairs, that it was rather taken for an effect of his complaiſance to her, and a deſire to flatter her vanity, than for any real intention of accommodation; ſhe return'd to *Paris* with mighty hopes, but the Cardinal drew ſolid advantages from this Nogotiation, for he gained time by it, and increas'd the ſuſpition of the oppoſite Cabals, as alſo delay'd Monſieur *le* Prince at *Paris*, till ſuch time as he ſhould loſe *Guienne* and his other Holds; and that the Kings Army commanded by the Mareſchals *de Turenne* and *d'Hoiquincourt*, kept the Field, whilſt his was retir'd into *Eſtampes*; neither did it remain long there without receiving a conſiderable loſs; for the Mareſchal *de Turenne*'s being inform'd, that *Madamoiſelle* paſſing by *Eſtamps* had deſir'd to ſee the Army drawn out, march'd ſtraight thither, and arriv'd at the Suburbs before the Enemy, who was lodg'd in it, return'd, and was in a condition to defend their Quarters, which was forc'd and plunder'd, the Mareſchals *de Turenne* and *d'Hoiquincourt* retir'd back to their Camps, after having kill'd 1000 or 1200 Men of the Princes

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choiceſt Troops, beſides many which they carried away Priſoners.

This ſucceſs increas'd the hopes of the Court, and gave birth to the deſign of the Beſieging *Eſtampes* and all the Army that was in it; and how difficult ſoever this Enterprize appear'd, it was reſolv'd, on, for their hopes depended upon diſheartned Soldiers, and divided Leaders the Towns being open in ſeveral places, and every where ill fortifi'd and impoſſible to receive relief from any but the Duke *de Lorrain*, with whom the Court believed they had made an Agreement; but for all this, in my opinion, they conſider'd leſs the event of the Siege, than the Reputation ſo great an Enterprize wou'd give to the Kings Forces; and the truth of it was, that though they ſtill continu'd their Negotiations with ſuch eagerneſs, and that Monſieur *le* Prince ſo extremely deſir'd a Peace, it could not be reaſonably expected, till ſuch time as the ſucceſs of *Eſtampes* had regulated the Propoſitions; In the mean while the Adherents to the Court made uſe of this conjuncture to gain the People, and to make a Party in the Parliament; and although the Duke of *Orleans* appear'd very firmly united to Monſieur *le* Prince,

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he had nevertheleſs daily Conferences in private with the Cardinal *de Rets*, who was bent to deſtroy whatever reſolutions Monſieur *le* Prince perſwaded him to take. The Siege of *Eſtampes* ſtill continued, and although the Kings Army made no conſiderable progreſs, the noiſe that it made through the whole Kingdom was advantagious to the Court, inſomuch that *Paris* expected the Succors of the Duke of *Lorrain*, as the only preſervation of the Party; he arriv'd at length, after ſo many delays, and after having given ſuſpition of his Agreement with the King; but his preſence ſoon put a ſtop to that opinion for a time, and he was receiv'd with all marks of joy; his Army was encamp'd near *Paris*, and all other diſorders were ſuffer'd without complaints.

At firſt there was ſome coolneſs between Monſieur *le Prince* and him for place, but ſeeing that Monſieur *le Prince* was reſolute, he declin'd his Pretentions, ſo much more eaſily, in that he had only rais'd this diſpute to gain time to make a ſecret Treaty with the Court, to raiſe the Siege of *Eſtampes* without hazarding a Battel, which was concluded by the Duke of *Lorrain*, without ever acquainting either Monſieur, or Monſieur *le*

Prince with it; the firſt news they heard of it was that their Troops were march'd out of *Eſtampes*, and that the Kings Army was remov'd from thence, and the Duke *de Lorrain* retir'd into *Flanders*, pretending that he had fully perform'd the King of *Spain*'s Orders, and alſo the Word that he had given to Monſieur: This news ſurpriz'd every body, and made Monſieur *le Prince* reſolve to join his Forces; fearing leſt the Kings Army ſhou'd fall upon him in his march, he left *Paris* with 12 or 15 Horſe, expoſing himſelf to be taken by the Enemies Party, and having join'd his Army, he march'd to *Ville-juif*, where they quarter'd, and from thence paſs'd to *St. Cloud*, where they remain'd, in which time not only the Harveſt was deſtroy'd, but alſo moſt of the Houſes thereabouts were reduc'd to Aſhes.

With which proceedings the Pariſians were ſo diſſatisfied, that Monſieur *le Prince* had like to have receiv'd fatal marks thereof in the Battle of *St. Antoine*.

Nevertheleſs *Gaucourt* had ſecret Conferences with the Cardinal, in which he declar'd that a Peace was deſired with all earneſtneſs, and went ſo far as to agree upon the principal conditions, but he ſo much

much inſiſted upon thoſe leſſer points, that he became ſuſpected, not to intend to treat; this new uncertainty gave new ſtrength to all the Cabals, and an appearance of truth to all the reports that were ſpread amongſt the People. *Paris* was never in ſo great an agitation, Monſieur *le Prince*'s thoughts were never ſo divided, which to reſolve of, Peace, or War: The Spaniards endeavoured to remove him from *Paris*, to hinder the Peace, and the Ducheſs *de Longueville*'s friends contributed all they could with the ſame deſign, to remove him alſo from Madam *de Chaſtillon*, and likewiſe *Madamoiſelle* aim'd at the ſame mark with the Spaniards, and the Ducheſs *de Longueville*, for on one ſide ſhe deſir'd the War ſhould continue, to be reveng'd upon the Queen, and the Cardinal, who had oppoſed her being married to the King; and on the other, in hopes to force Monſieur *le Prince* to leave Madam *de Chaſtillon*, that ſhe might have as great a ſhare both in his eſteem, and truſt, as alſo to win him, who was moſt in her affection. She rais'd Men in his Name, and promis'd to furniſh him with Money to levy more.

Theſe Promiſes joyn'd to thoſe of the Spaniards, and the Artifices of the Ducheſs of *Longueville*'s Friends, remov'd from Monſieur *le Prince* the thoughts which he had of a Peace; but that, which in my opinion put him the fartheſt from it, was not only the little confidence he could repoſe in the Court afterwards, but (what can hardly gain belief of one of his Quality, and Merit) a vaſt deſire of imitating the Duke of *Lorrain* in many things, and particularly in his method of treating his Soldiers, and Officers; he was perſwaded that if the Duke *de Lorrain* being robb'd of his Country, and with ſo much leſs advantage than he had, could make himſelf ſo conſiderable by his Army and Money, he who had ſuch infinite Qualities above him, would make a progreſs proportionable, and in the mean time might live entirely conformable to his own humour.

This is the real motive which induc'd Monſieur *le Prince* to join with the Spaniards, and for which he renounc'd all that his Birth and Services had acquired him in the Kingdom, though he laboured to hide it as much as was poſſible, by ſhewing ſtill the ſame deſire for the Peace, which was ſtill purſued with fruitleſs

fruitleſs Treaties: The Court went to *St. Denis*, the Mareſchal *de la Ferté* join'd the Kings Army with thoſe Troops which he had march'd out of *Lorrain*, Monſieur *le Prince's* Army, weaker than the leaſt of the two Bodies which oppos'd him, till then had maintain'd the Poſt of *St. Cloud*, that he might make uſe of the Bridge to ſhun an unequal fight; but the arrival of the Mareſchal *de la Ferté* enabled the Kings Army to divide, and attack *St. Cloud* on both ſides, having made a Bridge of Boats about *St. Denis*, which made Monſieur *le Prince* reſolve to leave *St. Cloud* with deſign to gain *Charenton*, and to poſt himſelf in that neck of Land, where the River of *Marne* joins with the *Seine*; he march'd his Army the firſt day of *July* about the cloſe of the evening, hoping to reach *Charenton* before the Enemy could overtake him; he march'd by the Queen-Mothers Court, and by the back-ſide of the Town from the Port *St. Honoré* to the Port *St. Antoine*, to come in there into the Road to *Charenton*.

He would not ask to paſs through *Paris*, for fear it ſhould be refus'd him, and a refuſal at ſuch a time as that, wou'd have made the ill condition his

Affairs were then in, too viſible, beſides he fear'd that if he ſhould obtain it, his Army might ſcatter in the Town, and would not be got out again if there were occaſion; The Court was immediately inform'd of his march, and Mareſchal *Turenne* went the very minute with all his Forces to attack him, and to ſtop him, till ſuch time as the Mareſchal *de la Ferté*, who was following, had time to arrive. In the mean while they carried the King to *Charonne*, that there, as upon a Theatre, he might be preſent at an Action, which in all appearance, would be the inevitable ruine of Monſieur *le Prince*, and the concluſion of all the diſorder, and which really prov'd one of the boldeſt, and moſt dangerous that was ever ſeen in War; where the great and extraordinary qualities of Monſieur *le Prince* appear'd with all advantage, and Fortune her ſelf ſeem'd to court him in this action, and claim'd a ſhare in the ſucceſs, wherein both Parties extolled his Valour, and his Conduct, for he was attacked preciſely at the time when he cou'd make uſe of thoſe Trenches which the Citizens of the *Fauxbourg de St. Antoine* had thrown up to fortifie themſelves from being plundered by the

Duke

Duke *de Lorrain*; he had only this place in all his march (which he endeavoured to reach) where he could hinder himſelf from being entirely defeated; ſome Squadrons of the Reer-guard were charg'd in the *Fauxbourg de St. Martin*, by thoſe whom the Mareſchal *de Turenne* had detach'd to amuſe him, which retreated diſorderly within the Entrenchment of the *Fauxbourg de St. Antoine*, where he was drawn up in Battle.

He had ſcarcely time enough for this, and to ſet men to maintain all the places by which he might be attacked, he was forced to place the Baggage upon the Ditch *de St. Antoine*, becauſe it was refus'd entrance into *Paris*, which alſo had pillaged ſome of his Wagons, for the Court-Party had ſo managed it, that they ſtood as Neuter, and Spectators of the event.

The Prince of *Condè* kept ſtill about him all his own Servants, and all the Gentlemen of Quality that had no Command, who were about thirty or forty in number. The Mareſchal *de Turenne* prepared to attack him with all the haſte, and confidence of a Man that believ'd himſelf ſecure of Victory; when the Men whom he had detach'd were about

yards from the Entrenchment, Monſieur *le Prince* ſallied out with the aforenam'd Squadron, and with his Sword in his hand, entirely defeated the Battallion that came to attack him, and took ſome of the Officers Priſoners, carried off their Colors, and retired again into his Retrenchment.

On the other ſide the Marquis *de St. Meſgrin* attack'd the Poſt that was defended by the Count *de Tavannes* Lieutenant-General, and *Langes* Mareſchal de Camp, where the reſiſtance was ſo great, that the Marquis *de St. Meſgrin*, ſeeing his Infantry decline, tranſported with heat and paſſion, advanced with the Kings Light-Horſe, into a narrow Street, which was barricado'd, where he was kill'd with the Marquis *de Nantoüillet*, *le Fouilloux*, and others; *Manching* was there wounded, whereof he dy'd ſome time after.

They continu'd the Attacks on both ſides with extream vigor, and the Prince of *Condy* charg'd the Enemy a ſecond time with the ſame ſucceſs that he did the firſt; in what place ſoever he went, though he found himſelf in the middle of Fire and Arms, he gave Orders with an eveneſs of Mind; which is ſo rare,

and

and yet ſo neceſſary in a time like that: At length the Kings Army forc'd the laſt Barricado of the *rue due Cours*, which leads to the *Bois de Vincennes*, and was entred into Battalia as far as the Market Houſe of the *Faux-bourg St. Antoine*, when the Prince *de Condè* made a violent Sally, charg'd them, and cutting in pieces all that withſtood him, regained that Poſt, and beat off the Enemy, who was nevertheleſs Maſter of a ſecond Barricado, which was in the Street that leads to *Charenton*, about forty yards beyond a large open place, which is juſt by the ſame Street: The Marquis *de Noüailles* having poſſeſs'd himſelf of it, the better to defend it, made holes through the houſes round about, and ſet Muſqueteers in them, as alſo in all thoſe Houſes of the Street through which they muſt paſs to come at the Barricado. The Prince of *Condy* had a deſign to diſlodge them with his Infantry, and to beat them off with a greater violence, which was really the way he ought to have taken; but the Duke *de Beaufort* not being one of the neareſt to Monſieur *le Prince*, and growing diſſatisfied that the Duke *de Nemours* was always ſo, preſs'd Monſieur *le Prince* to attack that Barricado with his

his Foot already weary,& repuls'd,which inſtead of marching toward the Enemy, lean'd themſelves againſt the Houſes, and wou'd advance no farther.

At the ſame time a Squadron of the *Flemiſh* Troops, which was poſted in a Street, one end whereof came to the corner of the aforementioned open place,on the Enemies ſide, not being able to ſtay there any longer for fear of being cut off when the Enemy ſhould be poſſeſs'd of the adjoining Houſes, came into the middle of it. The Duke *de Beaufort* believing it to be the Enemy, propos'd to the Dukes *de la Rochefoucault* and *Nemours*, who were juſt come thither, to go and charge them; ſo they gathering together, the Voluntiers made towards them, and expos'd themſelves to no purpoſe amidſt all the firing both from the Barricado,and from the Houſes round about, for coming nearer, he knew 'em to be of his own Party; but at the ſame time perceiving an aſtoniſhment amongſt thoſe that defended the Barricado, the Dukes *de Nemours*, *Beaufort*, and *de la Rochefoucault*, and the Prince *de Marcillac* puſh'd at it, and beating the Enemies from it, they ſeiz'd it, and kept it their own ſelves, when the Infantry which

was

was commanded wou'd not aſſiſt them. The Prince *de Condy* maintained his ground in the Street, with only ſome of his friends who follow'd him. In the mean time the Enemy, who were poſſeſs'd of all the Houſes in the Street, ſeeing the Barricado kept only by four, had undoubtedly retaken it, had not the Prince of *Condy*'s Squadron oppos'd them; but their being no foot to hinder the Enemies ſhooting from the Windows, they began to fire upon them from every ſide till they had made them quit the Barricado. The Duke *de Nemours* for all his Arms, received thirteen wounds, the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* receiv'd alſo a Musket-ſhot upon his Face a little above the Eyes; which blinding him, oblig'd the Duke *de Beaufort*, and the Prince *de Marcillac* to retreat to carry off the two wounded; they were purſued, and the Prince *de Condy* advancing to ſuccor them, and give them time to get on Horſeback, left the Poſt again to the Kings Forces, which juſt before he had gained from them: Almoſt all that follow'd them into the open place were either kill'd or wounded. Amongſt the reſt there fell the Marquis *de Flamerin*, the Count *de Caſtres*, and *Bercennes*, Captain

Captain of the Duke *de Rochefoucault*'s Guards, the number of the Officers dead and wounded on each ſide were ſo great, that each party appear'd rather to think of repairing its loſſes, than of attacking the Enemy: but this pauſe prov'd nevertheleſs more advantageous to the Kings Forces, for though they had been repuls'd as often as they aſſaulted, nevertheleſs the Mareſchal *de la Ferté*, marched with all ſpeed, and prepar'd to make a new attack with his Army, which was freſh and entire, when the *Pariſians*, who till then had been only ſpectators of ſo great an Action, declared themſelves for Monſieur *le Prince*; they had been ſo blinded on one ſide by the Policy of the Court, and on the other by that of the Cardinal *de Rets*, as alſo being ſo much perſwaded that Monſieur *le Prince* had concluded the particular Peace without including their Intereſts, that they conſider'd the beginning of this Action to be done with Cardinal *Mazarin*'s conſent, & the Duke *d'Orleans* confirmed them in that opinion by giving no Orders in the Town to ſuccor Monſieur *le Prince*; the Cardinal *de Rets* was always about him, who ſtill encreaſed the trouble, and irreſolution of his mind, by framing difficulties

culties in every thing he undertook.

On the other ſide the Port *de St. Antoine* was guarded by a Regiment of the Citizens, the Officers whereof being gain'd by the Court, hinder'd every body almoſt from either going out, or coming in. In fine, there were but few in the Town that inclin'd to receive Monſieur *le Prince* into it; when *Madamoiſelle*, by uſing all her Power with her Father, at length drew him from that Lethargy, in which Cardinal *de Rets* ſtill held him, and prevailed upon him ſo far as that ſhe carried his Orders to the Town-houſe for the Citizens to take up Arms, and at the ſame time commanded the Governor of the *Baſtille* to fire the Cannon upon the Kings Army; then going her ſelf alſo to the Port *de St. Antoine*, ſhe diſpos'd the Citizens not only to receive Monſieur *le Prince* and his Army, but even to ſally out, and skirmiſh till ſuch time as his Army was enter'd in; but what yet mov'd the People more in favour of Monſieur *le Prince*, was to ſee ſo many Perſons of Quality brought in, either wounded, or dead; the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* endeavour'd to make the beſt of this opportunity to ſerve his Party; for though his Wound had al-

moſt

moſt blinded him, he rode from the Place where he had been hurt to the *Fauxbourg St. Germain*, exhorting the People to ſuccor Monſieur *le Prince*, and from that time to be more ſenſible of their deſigns, who had accus'd him of treating with the Court, which then work'd the effect that was deſired; for *Paris* was never more inclin'd to ſerve Monſieur *le Prince* than it was at that time.

In the mean while the noiſe of the Cannon from the *Baſtille* made Cardinal *Mazarin* conceive two very different opinions; for at firſt he thought that *Paris* had declar'd it ſelf againſt Monſieur *le Prince*, and that he was going at once to triumph over the City, and his Enemy; but when they ſaw that they fir'd upon the Kings Forces, he ſent Orders to the Mareſchal of *France* to retreat, and return to *St. Denis*.

This was one of the moſt glorious days of Monſieur *le Prrinces* life, his Valour and Conduct never had a greater ſhare in his Victory; and one may ſay, that ſo many Perſons of Quality never led on a ſmaller number of Men. All the Colors they took were hung up in *Noſtredame* Church, and all the Officers, that were taken

taken Priſoners, were diſmiſs'd upou their Parols; The Negotiations for Peace ſtill continu'd, and each Cabal was labouring either to make, or hinder it according to its Intereſt; as for Monſieur *le Prince*, and the Cardinal, they were neither of 'em reſolved whither they ſhould conclude it or no. Monſieur *de Chavigny* in all appearance was now well again with Monſieur *le Prince*; it was hard to ſay what opinion he was of till then, becauſe his natural fickleneſs made him every day directly oppoſite to the other; for when he was in hopes to deſtroy the Cardinal, and re-enter into the Miniſtry of Affairs, his Counſel was to puſh things to the laſt extremity, but would have them beg a Peace upon their knees, as often as he imagined that his Lands would become the Prey of the Soldiers, and his Houſes raz'd; but ſtill in this juncture he was of the ſame opinion with the reſt, which was to make the beſt of the good diſpoſition of the People, and to propoſe to them a meeting at the Town-houſe, to reſolve that Monſieur *le Prince* ſhould be made Lieutenant-General of the Crown of *France*, and to aſſociate themſelves inſeparably to remove the Cardi-

Cardinal; and that the Duke *de Beaufort* ſhould be made Governor of *Paris* inſtead of Monſieur *de l' Hoſpital*, and *Brouſſel-Provoſt des Marchant* in the place of Monſieur *de Febure*; but this Aſſembly, wherein it was believ'd would conſiſt the ſecurity of the Faction, prov'd one of the principal cauſes of its ruine, by a violence, that in all probability might have deſtroyed every Man that was in the *Hoſtel de Ville*, and have made Monſieur *le Prince* looſe all the advantages that he had gained in the Battel of *St. Antoine*.

I cannot ſay who was the Author of ſo pernicious a deſign, for all diſown'd it alike; but when they were met in the Town-houſe, there gathered together a company of all ſorts of People in Arms, which came crying to the very doors, That not only all things ſhould paſs according to the intention of Monſieur *le Prince*, but likewiſe that all thoſe who depended upon the Cardinal *Mazarin*, ſhould that very minute be delivered up. This noiſe at firſt was only lookt upon as an ordinary effect of the impatient Rabble; but ſeeing the Crowd and Tumult increaſe, and that even the Soldiers and Officers bore their part in the Sedi-

Sedition, and at the ſame time began to ſet the Doors on fire, and ſhoot in at the Windows; all that were within, believed themſelves alike utterly loſt.

Many to evade the danger of the Fire and Shooting, expoſed themſelves to the fury of the People; there were many kill'd of all ſorts, and of both Parties, and every one believed that Monſieur *le Prince* ſacrificed his Friends, that he might not be ſuſpected, to have deſtroy'd his Enemies; not the leaſt part of this buſineſs was laid to the Duke *d'Orleans* charge, and all the hatred for it fell upon Monſieur *le Prince*, though I believe they both made uſe of the Duke *de Beaufort* to injure thoſe that were not of their Parties, but in reality, not one of them had the leaſt deſign to hurt any body; Howſoever it was, they preſently appeas'd the Diſorder, but could not blot out the impreſſion that it had made in the Peoples Minds.

It was propos'd afterwards to eſtabliſh a Council which ſhould conſiſt of the Duke *d'Orleans*, the Prince of *Condy*, the Chancellor of *France*, and of all the Princes, Dukes and Peers, Mareſchal of *France*, and the general Officers of the Party, where two Preſidents *au*

Monſieur ſhould have always place from the Parliament, and the Provoſts of the Merchants from the City, to judge definitively in all Caſes Military, and Civil.

This Council increas'd inſtead of diminiſhing the Diſorder by the pretentions of taking place in it, and the Conſequences of it were at length as fatal, as thoſe of the Aſſembly in the Town-Houſe; for the Dukes *de Nemours* and *Beaufort*, either had not ſo clearly forgot their paſs'd Differences, but that they ſtill bore a grudging to each other, or elſe by the Intereſts of ſome Ladies, quarrelled for Precedence in the Council, and fought on Horſeback, where the Duke *de Nemours* was kill'd by the Duke *de Beaufort* his Brother in Law; his Death moved both compaſſion and ſorrow, in all who knew him, and even the Publick had reaſon to lament him: for beſides his great and eminent Qualities, he contributed all that was in his power to the concluding of a Peace, for he and the Duke *de la Roche Foucault*, had renounced all the advantages that Monſieur *le Prince* had engaged to obtain for 'em in the Treaty, that it might be ſo much the more eaſily concluded, but the Death of one, and the Wound

Wound of the other gave the *Spaniards* and the Dutcheſs of *Longueville*'s Friends all the opportunity they could deſire; They no longer apprehended, that the Propoſitions for inviting Monſieur *le Prince* into *Flanders* would be diſputed, they dazled him with hopes, and now Madam *de Chaſtillon* appear'd leſs charming, becauſe there was no longer that illuſtrious Rival to combat in her Affection, nevertheleſs he did not at firſt reject the propoſitions of Peace, though he ſtill took his meaſures for War; he offer'd to the Duke *de la Roche Foucault* the Duke *de Nemours*'s Command, which he could not accept, becauſe of his hurt, ſo he gave it afterwards to the Prince *de Tarante*.

Paris was then more divided than ever, the Court daily gaining one or other of the Parliament, or People; the Slaughter, which hapned at the Town-Houſe, appeared horrible to all Men: the Army durſt not keep the Field, and its quartering in *Paris* increas'd their diſſaffection to Monſieur *le Prince*: in fine, his Affairs were reduced to the worſt eſtate they could be in, when the *Spaniards* equally deſiring to hinder either his Ruine or Advancement; that

they might prolong the War, ordered the Duke *de Lorrain* to march a ſecond time to *Paris*, with a body of Men conſiderable enough not only to put a ſtop to the Kings Forces, but to inveſt them in *Villeneuſue St. George*; they alſo ſent word to *Paris*, that the Enemy ſhould be conſtrain'd either to give Battle, or to die for hunger in their Camp.

This hope flatter'd Monſieur *le Prince*, who thought to draw great advantages from the event of that action, though the truth of it was, the Mareſchal *Turenne* wanted no Proviſions and had always liberty to retreat to *Melun*, without hazarding a Battle, which he did, without finding any reſiſtance; whilſt the Duke *de Lorrain* was at *Paris*, and Monſieur *le Prince* lay ſick of a violent Fever, at the ſame time *Palluau* joyn'd the Forces under his command with the Kings Army, after having taken *Montrond*, in which the Marquis *de Perſan* had been block'd up from the beginning of the War by a ſmall number of Men, commanded by the Count *de Palluau*; but the Gariſon growing weak, they aſſaulted it, and took it with leſs reſiſtance, than could be expected from ſo gallant

Men,

Men, in one of the ſtrongeſt places in the World, the loſs whereof ought ſo much the more to touch Monſieur *le Prince*, in that it happen'd by his negligence, ſince that in the time when the Kings Army lay toward *Campaigne*, he might eaſily have reliev'd *Montrond*, whereas his Army ruining all about *Paris*, ſo much increas'd their hatred to him.

Though Monſieur *le Prince*'s Diſtemper was violent, yet it was leſs fatal to him, than to Monſieur *Chavigny*, who one day having been very eager with Monſieur *le Prince* about clearing ſome things, went back ſick of a Fever, whereof he dy'd a few days after; his misfortunes ended not with his life, and death, which ought to put a period to hatred, rather ſeem'd to awaken it in his Enemies; they imputed to him all manner of Crimes, but particularly Monſieur *le Prince* complain'd, that he had given ear to the propoſitions of the Abbey *Fouquet*, without acquainting him with it (though he had writ to him to do it) and that he had promis'd to remit ſome part of the Articles, which he could not conſent to; Monſieur *le Prince* alſo publiſh'd Copies of a Letter which

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he intercepted from the Abbey *Fouquet*, of which I have ſeen the original, where he ſends word to the Court, that *Goulas* would certainly perſwade the Duke *d' Orleans* to break with Monſieur *le Prince*, if he did not accept thoſe conditions of *Peace*, which were then offer'd him, and ſome Copies that Monſieur *le Prince* gave with his own hand, he writ *Chavigny*'s name in the place of *Goulas*, and ſo accus'd him of betraying him, without giving any other Proofs than the falſe Copies of that Letter written by the ſame Abbey *Fouquet*, with whom Monſieur *le Prince* treated every day, and gave *Chavigny* an account of it.

I can attribute ſo extraordinary, and ſo unjuſt a proceeding to no other cauſe, than the extreme deſire that Monſieur *le Prince* had to continue the War, which being oppos'd by his Friends, made him alter his behaviour towards them, and wholly confide in the *Spaniards*; he began from that time to take his meaſures, in ſuch a manner, that he might depart with the Duke of *Lorrain*, and to ſay truth, his Conduct had made this Council ſo neceſſary, that he had now no other choice to make, for Peace was too generally

generally deſir'd at *Paris* for any one to live there ſecurely who deſign'd to oppoſe it.

The Duke *d'Orleans* for his part, who had always deſir'd the Peace, and who ſtill apprehended the miſchief that Monſieur *le Prince*'s preſence might draw upon him, contributed the more willingly to remove him, in that he knew he ſhould then have a greater liberty to make his particular Treaty.

Though all things were thus in confuſion, they did not interrupt the ordinary courſe of the Negotiations, for at the time that Cardinal *Mazarine* left *France*, in hopes to root out all pretences of a Civil War, or to ſhew that Monſieur *le Prince* purſued other aimes than his removal, he ſent *Anglade* Secretary to the Duke *de Bouillon* to the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, and whether it was that he had really a deſign to treat, in hopes to make his return more eaſie, or that he deſign'd to draw ſome advantage by ſhewing the World that he deſir'd a Peace; at length *Anglade* brought much more ample conditions, than any before, and almoſt the ſame that Monſieur *le Prince* had demanded, but they were alſo refus'd, and his deſtiny, which

drew him into *Flanders*, never let him ſee the Precipice till it was no longer in his power to retire; at length he departed with the Duke *de Lorrain*, after having in vain contrived with the Duke *d'Orleans* to oppoſe the Queens being received into *Paris*; but his reputation was not then in a condition to lye in ballance with the Court, he received orders to leave *Paris* the day that the King was to make his entry into it, which he inſtantly obeyed, that he might not be a witneſs of his enemies triumphs, and of the publick joy.

Cardi-

Cardinal Mazarin's *Letter to Monſieur* de Brienne.

SIR,

THE Queen, as far as I underſtand, believes that you ſhould have only ſent me a Letter from the King, as it is uſually done to all National Cardinals, when news is brought from *Rome* that the Pope is in danger, and that I had a particular Priviledge granted me; ſince, beſides the firſt from the King, and the Duplicate, I have received another, and three from you, all conceived in terms ſo preſſing to make me without any delay depart from *Rome*, that I confeſs I was ſurprized to the laſt degree, being not able to imagine wherein I have been ſo deficient in my Duty to their Majeſties, that they ſhould preſs me to take a Journey with ſo much Ignominy and Danger, and without any means of ſubſiſting. To think that a Letter of Recommendation to the Pope would ſatisfie all! as if they knew the World ſo little at *Rome*, that they could not infer what ſort of Protection I was to ex-

expect there, ſince I was abandoned to the Perſecution of my Enemies in *France*, where the King is Maſter. Nevertheleſs if I had had the honor to receive a word from the Queen to ſignifie, that it was the Kings and her pleaſure that I ſhould go thither (as ſhe had the goodneſs to let me know it when ſhe was pleaſed that I ſhould go out of the Kingdom, and remove as far as the *Rhine*.) I do aſſure you, that after having put my Nieces into a Monaſtery, and turn'd off my Family, I would have gone thither with two Servants only, to confirm their Majeſties upon all occaſions, that my obedience is blind, and my Fidelity of Proof. I am really ready to do, without any reply, whatever the Queen ſhall command me, though I cannot receive a greater mortification, than to take this Journy in the condition I am in, which beſides cannot but be prejudicial to the Kings honour. Nay, which is another unhappineſs in this affair, they have had the Addreſs to make it paſs with the Queen for an act of Grace, which was done me, that I might yet feel ſome effect of the publick joy for the Kings Majority. All this hath loaded me with ſorrow, when I ſee to what height

height my friends have prevailed by my diſgrace, and with what ſucceſs they have employed their Arts to make me receive ſuch rude uſage, at a time when I might juſtly hope, that they would give ſome comfort to the Perſecutions, which I have ſuffered for eight Months together with ſo much Violence, and with ſo notorious an Affront to the Royal Dignity.

But all this is not comparable to the exceſs of ſorrow which I groaned under, after having ſeen (in all the Letters, from a great many of my Friends, both at *Paris* and elſewhere) the great pleaſure they take at the Contents of the Kings Declaration, which was Regiſtred in Parliament, and cry'd about the City. All of them without having conſulted together, agreeing, that ſince the Monarchy, there was never ſo bloudy a thing contriv'd againſt any body, what Crime ſoever he had committed. No body durſt ſend it me, and I may ſwear to you, that I never ſaw it; But to know that the King hath declared that I hinder'd the Peace, and was the cauſe of all the Injuries done to the Allies of *France*, is enough to perſwade me, that my Maſter would have me look'd upon

on as the moſt infamous and villanous Man that ever was, and as the ſcourge of Chriſtianity: and after this they ſend me to the place of my Nativity, to make a parade (amongſt my Kindred and Friends) of the fine Titles, which I have brought back with me, as a Reward for the 23 years as faithful and advantagious Service, as ever was done by the moſt zealous and diſintereſſed Miniſter that ever was.

All my Enemies have for theſe ſix Months laboured with an Induſtry viſible to every body, ſending Commiſſaries all over, applying themſelves to all imaginable contrivances, and ſome of them raiſing falſe Witneſſes to ſee if they could blacken me with ſome Crimes, who juſtifying to the people the oppreſſion they laid upon me, did more and more eſtabliſh their hatred againſt me, though all this produced nothing but very advantageous effects to undeceive them, and let them ſee my Innocence and the Injuſtice wherewith it was attacked. At this time my aforeſaid Enemies deſpairing to do any thing by other ways, found the means to perſwade their Majeſties to declare me (without being heard) in a moſt authentick and publick

lick form, a Rogue, and to impute the hindrance of the Peace to me alone.

After this methinks they ſhould rather counſel me to hide my ſelf from the ſight of Men, and bury my ſelf for ever, than to go to *Rome*, ſince I have reaſon not only to apprehend the people of *France*, but all thoſe who ſuffer by the continuation of the War, have reaſon to ſtone him, that is the cauſe thereof.

I am confident that their Majeſties could not have a particular knowledge of every thing, that was contained in the Kings Declaration, they are too juſt to be thought by any means, that they would conſent to declare me the moſt wicked and abominable of Men and a Traitor. And it is a great misfortune to the Kings ſervice, that there ſhould not be one who would let him know, of what advantage it was to the Enemies of *France*, that all *Europe* by his Majeſties Declaration was perſwaded that his chief Miniſter hindred the Peace. The Spaniards can have no greater advantage, than to be able to throw upon *France* the hatred of Chriſtianity, for the Evils, which the War makes it ſuffer, and the Allies of *France* will by the

Kings

Kings Declaration have a right with Juſtice to demand reparation for the loſſes they have endured, which amount to Millions, or in caſe of a refuſal, to have a juſt foundation for a quarrel, ſince it is certain that the King and State are reſponſible for the conduct of thoſe who have the management of Affairs.

I know alſo that the conſideration of me was not ſtrong enough to oblige them to ſpeak in my favour, but really the Intereſt of the King, of the State, and of the Queen her ſelf, was engaged by ſo many other preſſing reaſons, than what are abovementioned, that it muſt be confeſſed, that it was a ſtrange unhappineſs that no body ſhould ſpeak to them one word of it, and mine is in the utmoſt degree, ſince, beſides what I ſuffer in my own particular, the paſſion I have for their Majeſties and the State, which can never have an end, makes me feel in the bottom of my Soul the ſtroaks which they receive thereby.

You ſee, that ſince the Crimes, which they have obliged the King to declare me guilty of, I am no more in a condition to intermeddle in any Affair, wherefore you need not give your ſelf the trouble of communicating any to me,

and

and if my Enemies have not the ſatisfaction to ſee me go to *Rome*, they ſhall have the joy to ſee me abſcond without intermedling with any thing whatever, until it ſhall pleaſe the King to do me Juſtice; humbly beſeeching him, that he would be pleaſed to make me Priſoner wherever he ſhall order, even in one of the places of Monſieur *d'Orleans*, that if I have fail'd in my Duty, I may receive an exemplary puniſhment; and to take away all difficulties that may occur, by reaſon of the Dignity wherewith I am inveſted; I will take it as a ſingular favour, if I may be permitted to ſend a reſignation thereof, for I cannot now be any way uſeful to his Majeſty in my Perſon. I ſhall be very much obliged to you, if you ſo uſe your Intereſt as to procure me this favour, which I will eſteem to the laſt degree, ſince it may contribute to the reparation of my Honour, and I alſo deſire you for this once to excuſe my Importunities.

Monſieur de la Caſtre's *Letter to Monſieur* Brienne.

SIR,

SO long as my unhappineſs only reach'd my Fortune, and I believ'd I had no reaſon to fear any thing but the loſs of my Place, I bore my diſgrace without a repining thought, and eaſily reſolved with my ſelf, to wait till a more favourable time gave me occaſion of hoping better things. But now that I underſtand that they would violate my Innocence, and endeavor to ruine that little eſteem I have deſir'd to acquire in the Queens Opinion, I muſt confeſs I have not conſtancy enough to bear ſo rude a ſhock without complaints. You, Sir, who know me very well, know that I was never acted by Idtereſt, that Honor was my aim in all my Actious, and that I obſerved its ſtricteſt rules that I might be eſteemed by that perſon alone to whom I had devoted all my ſervices. Do you judge by this how ſenſible I ought to be of the Injury they have done me, in repreſenting me to her under black Characters, and give me leave

moſt

moſt humbly to beſeech you, to let her Majeſty know, that upon all occaſions I will receive her pleaſure with the reſpect I ought; but on this I beg nothing but Juſtice; If I am guilty either of any important or trivial thing againſt her, I am the moſt guilty Man in the Kingdom, and I paſſionately deſire that the Parliament would examine my faults, and puniſh them, being ready upon this account to enter into Cuſtody, whenever it ſhall pleaſe her to proſecute me; I am ſo ſenſible of my Innocence, that I cannot doubt the iſſue, nay in the deſpair I am at preſent in, though the event ſhould be fatal to me, I ſhould not apprehend it, judging that I have nothing in the World to loſe ſince the Queen hath loſt the confidence ſhe once repoſed in my Fidelity: I expect from the honor of your Friendſhip, that you will do me the favour to teſtifie to her my ſad thoughts, 'tis the moſt ſenſible and obliging office that He can hope from you, who is,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

The Articles and Conditions which were agreed upon between his Royal Highneſs Monſieur, and Monſieur le Prince de Condé, *for the expulſion of Cardinal* Mazarine, *in purſuance of ſo many of the Kings Declarations and Acts of the ſeveral Parliaments of* France.

I.

THat his Royal Highneſs, and Monſieur *le* Prince are ready to lay down their Arms, to return to Court, to reenter into his Majeſties Councils, and to contribute as much as lies in them, to conclude a general Peace; to ſettle all diſturbances, and re-eſtabliſh the Kings Authority, if his Majeſty will be pleaſed ſincerely to command Cardinal *Mazarin* to leave the Kingdom, and baniſh him out of all Places under his Dominion, and to remove him from his Councils and Perſon, all his Relations and Adherents, and finally that he would put in execution the Declarations that he had ſet forth,

forth, to that purpoſe in ſuch a manner, that neither his Royal Highneſs nor Monſieur *le Prince* may have reaſon to believe that the publick Faith will be violated.

II.

That if on the contrary, Cardinal *Mazarine* by his Artifices prevails ſtill upon the King, and againſt the deſires, and opinion of all *France*, and ſo much to the prejudice of thoſe Declarations, People ſtill perſevere to ſupport him, the Quality of Uncle to his ſaid Majeſty, which his Royal Highneſs poſſeſſes, obliges him to be vigilant in whatſoever relates to the good of the King, and to oppoſe whatſoever can interrupt it, during his ſaid Majeſties minority; and Monſieur *le Prince* thinks himſelf indiſpenſibly obliged to the ſame ſentiments, becauſe he has alſo the honor to be of the Royal Blood; and conſidering that they can have no ſecurity for their Perſons, whilſt Cardinal *Mazarine* is Maſter of Affairs, they have promis'd, and are reciprocally obliged, and engage, not only for themſelves, but alſo for the Prince *de Conty*, the Prince *de Conde*'s Brother, and the Ducheſs *de Longueville* his Siſter,

whom Monſieur *le Prince* promiſes, and engages, ſhall ratifie the preſent Treaty, the ſame time that he himſelf does, as alſo, for all thoſe that are of his Party; that they ſhall joyn their Forces and employ all their Credit and Friends to baniſh Cardinal *Mazarine* out of *France*, and to ſend away all his Relations and Adherents, who have declared themſelves ſuch, by the continual Correſpondence which they kept with him, when he was from the Court and Miniſtry of Affairs.

III.

They promiſe not to lay down Arms till ſuch time as they have obtain'd the effect of the aforementioned Article, and not to give ear directly or indirectly to any Agreement but on that Condition, and with an unanimous conſent.

IV.

That they will maintain and increaſe the Forces which they have raiſed as long as poſſibly they can, and that they ſhall be employ'd, either jointly, or ſeparately, as they ſhall judge moſt fit, promiſing moreover to take all care for their ſubſiſtance with the leaſt grievance that may be to the People,

V. They

V.

They promiſe willingly to accept all reaſonable Expedients, which ſhall be propoſed to appeaſe the troubles of the Kingdom, ſtill provided Cardinal *Mazarin* be removed, as is ſpecified in the ſecond Article, and to endeavor continually to eſtabliſh a general Peace, which is one of the chief ends of this Treaty: which can find no obſtacle when he is gone who has endevoured to prolong the War, and that the Breaches in the Royal Family (which he has been the cauſe of) ſhall be made up again.

VI.

His Royal Highneſs, and Monſieur *le Prince*, promiſe to maintain the Parliaments, and all ſupream Societies of the King, the chief Officers of State, the Nobility, and Gentry, in all their Rights and Priviledges, and to do them Juſtice, in all their lawful pretentions, and not to make any Treaty without them, till ſuch time that all the damages and loſſes they have ſuſtained in maintaining this Treaty be repaired; and particularly to take care that it may not prejudice the obſerving of the Declaration, publiſhed the

22 of *October* 1648. and for this reaſon they are invited to enter into this preſent Union, and to do their utmoſt endeavour to accompliſh the intent thereof.

VII.

Cardinal *Mazarine*, who ſtill governed in effect, though baniſhed in appearance, having hinder'd the general Aſſembly of the States, which the King had promiſed to convoke the 8th of *September* laſt, and having obliged the Deputies, who met at *Tours* upon the day appointed, to retire with ſhame and confuſion, and beſides all this, his Royal Highneſs and Monſieur *le Prince* knowing that he would ſtill continue the ſame condition he then held, and that he would endeavor to hinder by all means; whatever could be expected from their meeting, or that if he could be poſſibly brought to conſent to their aſſembling, it ſhould be only to get them into ſome place whereof he is Maſter; therefore his Royal Highneſs, and Monſieur *le Prince*, to remove theſe two inconveniences, promiſe and engage themſelves, to ſpare no pains, to obtain that they may aſſemble at *Paris*, as the neareſt and moſt convenient Town where they may

may act in full liberty, upon which condition they declare they will ſubmit with all their hearts, their whole Intereſts, which they proteſt to be no other than the Intereſts of King and Country; to their deciſion, whereof there ſhall be made a perpetual and irrevocable Edict, which ſhall be confirmed in the Parliament of *Paris*, and by all thoſe that enter into this preſent Union.

VIII.

His Royal Highneſs and Monſieur *le Prince* neither holding for lawful, nor acknowledging the Councel, choſen by Cardinal *Mazarine*, one whereof having bought his place with a vaſt Sum of Money, which he gave to the aforeſaid Cardinal, they being obliged by the degree of Blood, whereby they have the honor to come ſo near his Majeſty, to take care of his Affairs, and to proceed in ſuch a manner, as that they may be well governed, promiſe not to liſten to any accommodation till ſuch time as the Creatures and publick Adherents to Cardinal *Mazarine*, be excluded the Council of State, and upon condition that it ſhall not hereafter conſiſt but only of ſuch of the ſaid Conncil, and others, as

cannot in any manner be ſuſpected to incline to him.

IX.

And becauſe the Enemies of Monſieur *le Prince*, are baſe enough to endeavour to decry his Actions, by publiſhing that he is in League with Foreign Nations, his Royal Highneſs and the ſaid Monſieur *le Prince*, declare that they will never have any Commerce, or Correſpondence whatever with them, but only as far as what concerns the general Peace, and that they will not negotiate with any Stranger Princes, before it be judged beneficial for the Kings Intereſt, and the good of the Kingdom, both by the Parliament, and the chief Perſons that ſhall enter into this preſent Union.

X.

And in fine, that the ill intentioned, and the perſons moſt zealous for Cardinal *Mazarine*, may not have reaſon to doubt of his Royal Highneſs and Monſieur *le Prince*'s good intentions, they have thought fit to declare expreſly by this Article, that they have no other deſign than the ſecurity of their own Perſons; and whether it be that the unhappy

happy Commotions of the State will oblige them to employ their Arms for the expulſion of the ſaid Cardinal *Mazarine*, or that things may be accommodated by his excluſion in the manner as has been above demonſtrated, they will not pretend to any new model of Government, but put their whole ſatisfaction in that which *France* muſt needs rejoice to ſee an end of their troubles, and the publick quiet aſſured.

XI.

His Royal Highneſs and Monſieur *le Prince*, notwithſtanding judge it fit for many weighty conſiderations, to agree together to contribute as much as lies in their power towards an Agreement, for the juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction of all thoſe who are now engaged in the common cauſe, or who hereafter ſhall joyn themſelves to them, that they may receive effective marks of their protection.

This preſent Treaty was double ſigned by his Royal Highneſs, and by the Counts *de Fieſque*, and *de Gaucourt*, for, and in the name of Monſieur *le Prince*, Monſieur *le Prince de Conty*, and the Ducheſs of

of *Longueville*, by virtue of the power that Monſieur *le Prince* gave them which was preſently delivered into the hands of his Royal Highneſs, by the ſaid Count *de Fieſque*, the two Counts were engaged, and obliged themſelves to procure to his ſaid Royal Highneſs, the Ratifications of thoſe for whom they had engaged within a month at fartheſt.

Concluded at *Paris* the 24th day of *January* in the Year of our Lord 1652. ſigned *Gaſton Charles Leon*, *de Fieſque*, *Joſeph de Gaucourt*.

AN

AN APOLOGY, OR THE DEFENCE OF THE Duke *de BEAUFORT*,

Againſt the Court, the Nobility, and the People.

Gentlemen,

'WERE I as Eloquent as thoſe 'who have written either for 'the Court, or the Princes, you ſhould then have a fine Apology in favour of the Duke *de Beaufort*, but having ſpent the moſt part of my time in Hunting or Playing at Tenis with him, be pleas'd to pardon me the labor of Eloquence, and allow me to go on without Interterruption

terruption in the broad common Road.

To come quickly to the purpoſe, there appear three points in my Diſcourſe, as alſo there were in his advice, The firſt is to juſtifie him to the Court, who thought him ill-intention'd; The ſecond, to re-eſtabliſh him with the Nobility, who deſpis'd him; The third, to regain him the love of the publick, who abandon'd him. And now do you judge, Gentlemen, if I have not a hard Task, and if it would not be more eaſie to overthrow the Cardinal and ſet the Princes at liberty, than to ſucceed in what I undertake.

I ſay the Court is moſt injurious to the Duke *de Beaufort*, to believe that he has any ill thoughts againſt it, and theſe are my reaſons, if the Duke *de Beaufort* retain'd a hatred for the Court, if his reconciliation with Cardinal *Mazarine* was not really ſincere and free, he would have ſtill kept himſelf in a condition to have prejudiced him, or at leaſt to have ſecur'd himſelf; but to take away all ſubject of fear or ſuſpition, and to eſtabliſh himſelf in an entire Truſt; he was himſelf Author of his own diſcredit with the Parliament, he alſo drew upon himſelf the contempt of the People of

Qua-

Quality, and the hatred of the vulgar; what appearance was there then, that the Duke *de Beaufort*, doing whatſoever he could to pleaſe the Court, deſign'd not to ſerve it, or was willing to be at difference with it.

Moreover, if it was true, that he endeavor'd to maintain a Confederacy diſadvantagious to the Kings Authority, he would have joyn'd with the *Frondeurs*, and both alike have aim'd at the ſame mark; but all the World knows that he broke with Madam *de Chevereuſe*, leſt he might ſeem to act contrary to the Teſtament of *Lewis the Thirteenth*, if he continued any manner of Correſpondence with her; what likelihood is there then, that a man, who bears ſo nice a reſpect to the memory of the late King, ſhould have ſuch pernicious thoughts againſt him that is now Reigning.

As to the uniting of the chief Miniſter, and the Admiral, it cannot be deſired to be either more ſtrong, or more ſtrict, and they are both too generous to believe, that there has been given and receiv'd Fourſcore thouſand Livres a year, as a pledge of a falſe reconciliation.

But

But paſſing by all conjectures, wherein there are a thouſand concluding circumſtances, tell me why was *Mazarine*, proclaimed upon *Pont-neuff*, in the Palace, and in all publick places? why in the laſt Aſſembly of the Parliament, did he ſollicite the remainder of his Friends in the Cardinals behalf, if he was not really true to his Intereſt?

He is alſo accus'd to have made uſe of his power, to ruine the Duke *d' Eſpernon*, and what could this gallant Prince have otherwiſe done, unleſs he had ſuffered Injuries with a Chriſtian Patience, and retired himſelf into a Cloiſter? Can it be denied, that no perſecution ever equalled that he ſuffered from the Duke *de Candale*? and his eagerneſs to diſhonor ſo near a Relation, did it not merit that Revenge?

But to ſay truth, theſe are only particular concerns, and in all caſes he revenges himſelf upon his Enemies in ſpite of the Court, by a kind of compenſation: he knows how to abandon his friends to pleaſe it. *Fontrailles* and *Chatta* once ſo zealous for his intereſt, by experience are made ſenſible of it, and the Count *de Fieſque* having received the ſame treatment, has reaſon

to

to condemn himſelf all his life, for the uſeleſs generoſity he ſhewed him.

Let us then conclude, that never any Man obſerved more the intentions of the Court, and that the Queen would hardly have refuſed him the Government of *Bretaigne*, but that ſhe believ'd the great Services he had done, to be ſufficiently rewarded by the command of Admiral.

Now after having thus juſtified this great Duke in what relates to the Court, I will endeavor to do the ſame to the true Nobility, and make it appear that nothing is more unreaſonable than the contempt they have lately ſhewn him.

When I ſpeak of the true Nobility, I mean not thoſe, whom his rough manner of ſpeaking only makes his Enemies, Men bred up in ſoftneſs and ſloth, who by frequenting the Ladies Chambers, are accuſtomed to a quite different ſort of entertainment.

The Duke *de Beaufort* is proud to be unacquainted with too ſoft and tender diſcourſe, fit only to effeminate Courage, and ſoften the mind; he has not made it his buſineſs to ſtudy ſcrupulous, and nice diſtinctions; he is not delicate in his eating, nor ſtudious to be well dreſt,

but

but he knows how to make himſelf be beloved by his Neighbours, and when he has need of Friends, he has an hundred Gentlemen that will ſerve him with hand and heart at his command.

This is the manner of this great Dukes living; but I ſee I am to ſatisfie the Nobility upon another point; and there are few Gentlemen that ſpeak concerning the buſineſs of *Renard*, that do not alſo ſpeak of how little care he took to ſatisfie ſo many Perſons of Quality ſo much offended. Before I come to particulars I muſt tell you that this good Prince repented himſelf a thouſand times of that action; and to ſhew you that I neither approve the thing it ſelf, nor the conſequence of it, I accuſe him of too much Paſſion and Courage ſhewn in *Renards* houſe, as alſo too much Reflection and Wiſdom in the purſuit of it; but, Gentlemen, you are ſo little indulgent to him, you may excuſe a Man, who has only taken one thing for another, who was Valiant when he ought to have been Wiſe, and Wiſe, when he ought to have been Valiant, ſo that it was at moſt but a ſmall miſtake, and it would be too ſevere in you not to pardon it.

And then, if all things were taken in the greateſt rigor, with whom ſhould the Duke *de Beaufort* have fought? had he fought the Duke *de Candall*, which was the right meaſures he ought to have purſu'd at the leaſt diſadvantage, the whole Court had rejoyc'd; the Queen was ſtill diſſatisfied for the War of *Paris*, his reconciliation with Cardinal *Mazarine* was not yet well ſetled, almoſt all people crowded to offer their Services to the Duke *de Candall*, God knows what joy there would have been, had he been either wounded or diſarm'd; to have fought with *Bouteville* would have been as bad, for no misfortune could have befallen him, but Monſieur *le Prince*, and his friends would have gain'd yet more advantage; in the manner that he had treated *Gerzé* it was paſt giving quarter, and the Vow he made all his life to obſerve the Precepts of Nature, obliged him to take care not to be tranſported to that Inhumanity.

It is certain he had fought with *Moret*, but that he appointed the place too far from Chyrurgions, as the Duke *de Beaufort* judiciouſly told him; and as to what Monſieur *de Paluau* ſaid upon it, that he ought to have been contented

with ſimpathetick Powder. This was proper indeed for Men like himſelf without Conſcience; but the Duke *de Beaufort* is too good a Man to make uſe of any ſupernatural Remedies. The Ducheſs of *Vendoſme* his Mother having always preached to him that it was better to dye a thouſand deaths than to ſeek a Cure from Magick.

Theſe are the reaſons why he did not draw his Sword; every one may judge of them as he pleaſes; for my part it will be always my opinion, that a gallant Man cannot be too careful to keep his Enemies from taking advantage of him, which might have befallen the Duke *de Beaufort*, had he engaged with ſuch deſperate people; but I grant that he was a little too much tranſported with heat, and by the impetuous motion of a great Soul, over which he was not then Maſter, he unſeaſonably offended ſo many worthy Men, and ſhall we ſay, that there is no way to repair an affront but by death? And if ſo great a Man as he will have ſo much goodneſs as to own a fault, ought his Civilities to be deſpiſed? What acknowledgments did he not make to all that were concern'd? What ſatisfaction did he not give except that

of

of Fighting? A ſatisfaction cruel and bloody, that all other Nations have reaſon to reproach us with. Was that brave Prince as nice in reſenting Injuries, as thoſe Gentlemen who complain, how much ought it to trouble him now to think that he has neglected nothing that could gain him the love and friendſhip of the Nobility? You know as ſoon as ever he had made his own Peace, he began only to think of making the Fortunes of deſerving Men, and reſolv'd to employ all his Power and Credit for the ſervice of others, without ſo much as thinking of his own Intereſt: to ſome he generouſly offer'd the ſecurity of his protection; to others, all the advantages that they could gain by his favour; he freely diſtributed Offices, and Governments, and yet could not find one that would be his Favourite, amongſt them all, they were ſo much abuſed by the hopes of the Court; there was not one that did not refuſe his kindneſs; the reſentment that he felt to ſee his liberality thus deſpis'd, forced him to mind his own Intereſt, and in deſpight of his former deſign, he ſaw himſelf reduced to the troubleſome neceſſity of ſolliciting his own Affairs.

This was the first time that the Duke *de Beaufort* perceiv'd himself slighted by the Gentry, and particularly those about the Court; these were the first marks of their contempt, which passed in a very little time to the most bloody outrages: In the War of *Paris* they talked of nothing but of his Generosity, and Courage; and see but the Injustice of the World! for they now endeavour to defame him by those very same actions whereby he acquired his Reputation.

Every one knows how much he was complimented upon *Nertieu*'s death, and supposing really that he had not kill'd him, the modestest Man might have been perswaded that he did it as he was, and those same people full of complaisance and civility at that time, now grown ill humour'd, design to rob him of that glory wherewith they themselves adorn'd him, and by a search as exact as it was industrious, found, (as they say) that he never came near *Nertieu* till after he was dead.

His fighting with *Briole* was at first esteem'd so extraordinary that it might make all the *Roman* Heroes tremble. Now, say they, *Briole* took his Sword from

from him, as from a Mad man, whom rage or ſome other paſſion had tranſported beſides himſelf.

Do theſe Gentlemen think that he is ready to change his opinion upon as light grounds, as they have done? and that a Man, who was poſſeſſed with the belief, that he killed *Nertieu*, when they complimented him upon it, can reſolve to believe nothing of it, when they ſhall take a fancy to ſay againſt it. No, no, Gentlemen! you ought to be more ſteady, and not reproach him with your own inconſtancy; it might be indeed that he did not kill *Nertieu*, but ſince you once own'd it, your denying it at preſent will not prove the contrary.

Now from particular actions let us paſs to his perſonal Qualities; they repreſent him a Man rude, yet without familiarity, ſly, and yet ſilly, and by an odd mixture, he at once poſſeſſes, ſay they, the cunning of the Duke *de Vendoſme* his Father, and the ſimplicity of the Ducheſs his Mother; if you will believe them, he promiſes to all, but keeps his word with none; he pretends in Buſineſs to diſpatch three Poſts, whereof not one gets up on Horſeback; and alſo refuſes himſelf from the Queen what he never ask-

ed; What would you have more? he ſollicites for a Man in publick, and againſt him in private: I cannot tell any one thing that they do not ſay of his manner of diſcourſe: They make him write ridiculous Letters to Monſieur *Bethune*, which I am ſure he never thought of: in all unavoidable Suits in Law they would make appear in him the accidents of life: When others eat Meat in *Lent*, he is for bringing in new Government; Chambers hung with black are wanton, and the moſt laſcivious looks are mournful: *Laval* is dead of a bruiſe that he received in the head; and the Chevalier *de Chabot* for having been ill dreſt of his Tympany: There is no ſort of thing, that they don't make him to have done; there are no ſort of undecent words, that they don't make him to have utter'd; but nevertheleſs I cannot but think him a Man of great Sincerity and Parts, who wants neither Probity nor Underſtanding.

Can it be imagined, that a Prince bred up in the innocence of Country Pleaſures, ſhould be capable of ſo many exquiſite Cheats? Can it be imagined, that a Prince of his Birth could be ignorant of the moſt common things? For my part,

I muſt inſtead of believing what appears ſo ſtrange, and ſo diſadvantagious to the Duke *de Beaufort*, ſtill admire his Generoſity or Patience, either to pardon or ſuffer the Injuries that were done him.

Did not I fear paſſing here for a Declamour, I would end this Chapter to the Nobility in exhorting them to live as well with him as he reſolves to do with them; and addreſſing my ſelf to the Gentry, I muſt ſay to them from him; Leave, Gentlemen, leave off this malitious hatred, and affected contempt, and return into the ſame mind you were in at the death of the late King; remember but that generous time, when every body crowded into his Intereſt, when the Colonel of the *Swiſſes*, the Officers of the Kings Houſe, and the People of Quality renounced both the Court, and their Fortunes for the love of him. If you return, Gentlemen, he is ready to receive you, and in a condition to do the ſame things for you, as he has already done; but if you are obſtinate, and will not return, I declare he will have no more to do with you, but will endeavour to re-eſtabliſh himſelf in the love of the People, who have left him: 'Tis true, he owes the beginning of his Re-

Putation to you, but he owes alſo the greateſt part of his contempt to you, ſo that he thinks himſelf diſcharged from any manner of acknowledgment, by the juſt reſentment of your unkindneſs. Therefore, Gentlemen, you ſee there is now no need to make any longer diſpute.

And now it is time to come to his Juſtification to the People, and as he owns himſelf, that he owes his Safety, Fortune, and Reputation to them; There is not any thing he would not do to waſh away the ill impreſſion they have of him, which comes either from his Misfortunes, or the Malice of his Enemies.

'Tis not, but that if he had a Mind not to make any acknowledgment, he could find Proofs againſt ſuch an obligation, and whoſoever examines things even with the greateſt rigour, will find without doubt, that their love for him was rather a neceſſary effect of his Deſtiny, than a free and obliging motion of their own; for at the name only of the Duke of *Beaufort*, the People were inſenſibly mov'd, and I cannot ſay by what ſentiments, but every heart was tranſported to an extremity of love. It is certain, that they looked upon him as their only

ly ſupport, before he ſerved them, or had done any thing that could attract either, their Gratitude, Love or Eſteem; ſo that they have done for him only what they could not hinder themſelves from doing, therefore he is much more obliged to the lucky Planet, that ruled his Birth, than to their good Wills: Notwithſtanding he acknowledges that he owes all things to them, and does not pretend by an exquiſite Ingratitude, to pay real obligations.

He does not only proteſt that he will always endeavour to ſerve the People, who have ſerved him, but he declares that he ſhall retain for ever a particular love for them, a perfect reſemblance of humour, a ſecret agreement of thought, a juſt conformity of words, which will maintain an eternal League betwixt them.

Yet we ſee the *Pariſians* have not only unjuſtly broke off this love which reached to the very brink of Folly, but are paſſed into as violent a hatred: Theſe are only to reproach him of Perfidiouſneſs and Inconſtancy; but when they beheld him leſs miſerable, they then began to treat him as a Man both ungrateful, and corrupted. Permit me,

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Gentlemen, for I ſpeak without paſſion, if I ſay any thing in favour of him, think me not won to it by intereſt, nor impos'd upon, nor that I intend to draw upon me a general hatred, to preſerve the kindneſs of a particular perſon; I here profeſs an entire ſincerity, and God is my witneſs, I follow no other dictates than my own reaſon.

Three things, if I am not deceiv'd, ruin'd the Duke of *Beaufort* in your opinion; his agreement with the Cardinal, his taking the Admiralty, and his ſollicitations in the laſt Aſſemblies.

For his agreement with the Cardinal, unleſs you are unjuſt to him, you cannot take it ill. Had he agreed without conſidering your intereſts, and had only taken care of his own, you then would have reaſon to complain; but it is certain, the whole aim of his reconciliation, was only to ſeek a more ſecure and eaſie means to ruine the Cardinal; for when he ſaw that all *France* in Arms could not effect it, and that open and declared hatred was fruitleſs, he flew to the appearances of friendſhip; and as he himſelf ſays, he deſigns to ruine

ruine him when he leaſt thinks of it.

His Mind, which is as capable of Intrigue as of War, which is as quick, as bold, will furniſh him with a thouſand adroit and ingenious ways; not to ſpeak of his politick Star, which will lead him to the government of the State, and ſet him beyond the reach of all *Italian* Politicians.

If any one a little too nice in the rules of Honour, thinks it inglorious in the Duke *de Beaufort*, to retain his intention to ruine the Cardinal, after having received ſuch conſiderable kindneſſes from him: I anſwer, He treated not with him as a friend, but on the contrary, I am perſwaded, that when he took upon him the office of Admiral, he ſhew'd himſelf the worſt enemy he had in the World.

And Gentlemen, do you not believe that the Duke *de Beaufort* leſs prejudic'd him in the War of *Paris*, than in the Peace; and in your opinion, was not *Vitry* Fight more indifferent to the Court, than the negotiation concerning the Admiralty?

In all the War he was never in a better condition, than either to run away, or ſtand and be beaten; beſides his Courage

Courage and his Security never agreed together, he ſeldome went into the field without fear, and as ſeldome return'd into *Paris* without ſhame; and his moſt ſucceſsful enterprizes were only to get Bread without fighting.

At that time the Duke of *Beaufort* reduc'd with you to the laſt neceſſity, to ſay truth, neither much frighted, nor much hurt thoſe Troops that came from *St. Germains*; but now let him force the Court, let him take even from the Queen her ſelf fourſcore thouſand Livres a year, and you call it ſtill reconciliation, and true friendſhip: No, Gentlemen, undeceive your ſelves, and believe that he has now perform'd the moſt ſubtle of all revenges.

If in the Complement that he made the Cardinal, to thank him for that affair, he aſſur'd him to be as ſtrictly bound to his intereſt, as *Chamſlury*, we muſt ſuppoſe he only added raillery to the firſt injury; for 'tis to violate the reſpect that is due to the quality of a Prince, to imagine that he could be capable of ſuch a meanneſs; thoſe of the very firſt quality may ſtile themſelves friends of the chief Miniſters, but to ſtoop ſo low as to make themſelves

equal

equal to the Captain of their Guards, that was never done; and all this only to take away from you all reaſon of ſuſpicion, I muſt ask you if the Duke *de Beaufort* be leſs miſtruſtful than he was before, when a perſon of quality ſent a Challenge to him, and he ſent away the Gentleman to *Commeny*, like Creditors to a Treaſurer: May not this be call'd an artifice of the Court? And is there not a Letter printed, which declares enough his opinion; in all things he chuſes thoſe precautions, which his miſtruſt furniſhes him withal; if they deliberate at the Palace Royal, if they conſult at the *Hoſtel de Montbaſon*, they have all there particular counſels, and in their Cloſets reſolve upon all important affairs.

I own that the Duke *de Beaufort* did ſollicite for the Cardinal, but you can't deny, but that it was not ſo much in his favour, as againſt the Princes; and if you can direct but how he may ruine the Cardinal by the Princes, and the Princes by the Cardinal, you then will lay upon him the greateſt obligation in the World; 'tis the unhappineſs of the place wherein he is ſeated, rather than the malice of his nature, which makes him

him dread all men, and love no body; he retains ſtill what goodneſs can be preſerv'd amongſt ſo many nice intereſts; he does not envy Monſieur *le Prince* the conſtancy that he ſhew'd in the *Bois de Vincennes*, and though there may fall out ſuch diſorders, as may caſt a ſhadow upon his glory, he only wiſhes to put a ſpeedy period to his days, to confirm his reputation.

The Prince of *Condè* is in his opinion, of ſo weak and ſo tender a conſtitution, that the leaſt exerciſe, one chaſe of Hunting, one Debauch, one motion, though never ſo little too violent, is enough to kill him, if he were at liberty; in the heat of devotion that he is now in, he never grows weary of praiſing God for the converſion of the Duke *de Longueville*, and the joy that he has to ſee him ſay his Breviary is beyond expreſſion; he is ſorry to ſee the Cardinal troubled with the government of ſo tumultuous a people as thoſe of *France*, and that the refinedneſs of his Wit may be ſtill in action, he wiſhes him well employ'd in *Italy*; beſides the goodneſs which makes him ſo much deſire the glory of theſe Gentlemen, We muſt confeſs, that his pains and care of the publick

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let him take no reſt, and the intereſt of the State becomes ſo precious to him, that he cannot ſuffer it in the hands of another, and even Life it ſelf appears uſeleſs to him, if he does not employ it in governing.

Without flattering him, Gentlemen, What is it that we may not expect from his zeal, and vaſt capacity? Would you have him hinder the Kings authority from being acknowledg'd? Would you have him at the ſame time oppoſe the liberty of the Princes, and draw the Duke *d' Eſpernon* from his Government? Would you have him raiſe a Sedition for the good of the publick, cauſe the City to put up their Chains, or arm the factious? Would you have him at every aſſembly in the Palace, or at the Town-houſe, at all the Councils? There is neither labour nor danger that he refuſes for love of you, there are great ſervices to be expected from him, and the leaſt ſuſpicion of his fidelity would infinitely trouble him; for he is always ready to ſacrifice his quiet for yours.

Methinks nevertheleſs ſome conſiderations ought to be had, not to exact any thing from him that is above his ſtrength;

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don't expect that he ſhould go imprudently to withſtand the Arch-Duke; 'tis well known, that he is unacquainted with War in the open field, and to fight with well diſciplin'd men, to our Heroe is a quite new thing; 'tis to be like the *Gaſcons*, and thoſe who are little by their births, to paſs their lives like the people of *Croatia*, 'tis to act like men in deſpair, to ſet all the fortune of a Nation upon the hazard of one Battel; for him, whom both Eſtate and Birth make incapable of any action that may be either mean or fooliſh; he will glorioufly maintain his place in the Council, and employ all his time to give ſuch advice, as will immediately be in every bodies mouth, as ſoon as he has ſpoke it.

The end of the Apology for the Duke de Beaufort.

Me-

MEMOIRES
OF
Monſieur *de la Chaſtre*,

Concerning what paſs'd at the Death of *Louis* the Thirteenth, and the beginning of the Regency.

IT is difficult for him to appear prudent that is unfortunate, and as the moſt part of men regard only the appearances of things, ſucceſs alone directs their judgements, and no deſign appears to them either well laid, or well purſu'd, that has not a favourable event. In the diſgraces that are fallen upon me this laſt year, nothing has more encreas'd my ſufferings, than to ſee thoſe of my own friends, whom I

know moſt zealous for me, blame and condemn me, and without juſt examination, accuſe me to have been my ſelf, by my ill conduct, the author of my own ruine: It would be too great preſumption in me to believe that I was guilty of no faults, in all the time I have been at Court, ſince the moſt refin'd Courtiers are often at a ſtand on certain occaſions, and how skilful and pliant ſoever they be, they are often plung'd into accidents, from whence they cannot well retire. I confeſs, I may have fail'd, either for want of experience, or in not enough conſtraining my nature, which is an enemy to all manner of deceit or cunning.

When I firſt came to wait upon the King, I brought to Court a mind, unfit for cheating and mean actions, and which was too open and free for that place; but ſtill that ſort of life I thought honeſt enough to continue ever ſince, and though I have apparently found that it was not the way to make a fortune, I ſtill preferr'd the ſatisfaction of my Conſcience, an uncorrupted reputation, and ſome few friends, men of Honour, to the dignities and advantages that I might expect in being a

ſpy,

ſpy, or in playing double, promiſing at the ſame time to ſerve both parties. Perchance it is that I have been too open in this frank manner of living, which I have always obſerv'd, or I have ſtuck too firmly to my friends, when they were in a declining poſture; it is in one of theſe two points that I have chiefly fail'd; but I believe ſuch faults will appear excuſable with men of integrity, and I hope their ground too honeſt to have the conſequences condemn'd.

Theſe are, without diſguiſing any thing, all the crimes that I find my ſelf guilty of, and to make it yet more clear, I will deduce in few words, and very faithfully, the moſt conſiderable things which paſs'd in the laſt years that I was at Court, becauſe that although my private intereſt was very far diſtant from the intereſt of the State, yet even the moſt important publick affairs have been in ſome manner engag'd with my particular ones.

Not long after the birth of our preſent King, *Louis* the Fourteenth, ſeeing that there was nothing for me to expect whilſt Cardinal *Richelieu* was poſſeſt of all the power, becauſe I would not be ſervile to him, and beſides that I was

ally'd and in bonds of friendſhip with many whom he held ſuſpected; I believ'd I ought to think of ſtriking in with ſome other party, which might one day raiſe my fortunes, and none appear'd to me either ſo juſt or of ſo great hopes as the Queen's, for the King her Husband very unhealthful, and in all appearance not being able to live till ſuch time as his Son was at the age of majority, the Regency would infallibly in few years fall into her hands; whoſe almoſt continual adverſities ſuffer'd with ſo much patience, had rais'd her eſteem to ſuch a degree, that ſhe was thought the beſt, and mildeſt of Women, and the moſt unlikely to forget thoſe who had adher'd to her in her diſgrace; theſe glorious qualities charm'd me, and moreover, I thought it was honourable to throw my ſelf upon her ſide, in a time when the abſolute power of her Perſecutor made all weak and intereſted people ſhun approaching her, and by exquiſite tyranny left ſcarcely one about her, but Traytors, or thoſe whom dulneſs exempted from ſuſpicion, and made uncapable of ſerving her in any thing whatever. From that time I devoted my ſervices wholly to her, which I aſſur'd her of by

by Madamoiſelle *de St. Louis*, (now Madam *de Flavacourt*) and alſo by Monſieur *de Brienne*: The kind anſwer ſhe return'd, engag'd me yet more, ſo that from that time I reſolv'd to quit all thoughts of advancement in the Court, till ſuch time as ſhe ſhould be in a condition to confer it upon me: or that I believ'd I might be more ſerviceable to her in ſome other employment, than Maſter of the Wardrobe to the King, which I then had. I liv'd in this reſolution till the Cardinal's Death, after which the Queens Enemies beginning to make their court to her, it was not ſtrange, that I who had before devoted my ſelf entirely to her, carefully ſought all opportunities to teſtifie my zeal to ſerve her; and in a very little time I found one, which I carefully embraced, and propoſed to her Majeſty by Monſieur *de Brienne*, and having afterwards ſpoken to her my ſelf concerning it, ſhe judg'd that it would be advantagious for her ſervice, and thank'd me in ſuch terms, as both doubled my deſire to ſerve her, and encreas'd my hopes. What I propos'd was the buying the Office of Colonel of the *Swiſſe*, in which I neither regarded the great ſumm of

Money that I imploy'd in it, nor many other conſiderations, that the ſight of a Wife and three Children might produce, who were inevitably ruin'd, if by my death my place ſhould be loſt to them without recompence: I then ſacrificed to the Queen all my Family without regret; and whether it was that my free manner of proceeding pleas'd her, or that ſhe believ'd I might be capable to ſerve her, from that time I daily receiv'd more of her favours than I had done before; ſhe ſpoke of me to ſome of her greateſt confidents, as of a man who had entirely devoted himſelf to her, and whom ſhe eſteem'd for his fidelity, ordering the Biſhop of *Beauvais* (in whom ſhe then moſt confided) to communicate freely to me all things that might be for her ſervice; this was about the ſame time that the Duke *de Beaufort* return'd from *England*, for as ſoon as Cardinal *Richelieu* was dead, the Biſhop of *Liſieux*, by the Queen's order, writ to him to return; and he, without any other precaution, immediately left *England*; and as ſoon as he was landed in *France*, writ to me by a Gentleman nam'd *Dronilly*, wherein he declared that he repoſed much

confidence

confidence in me, and alſo deſir'd me to ſerve him in what I could with the King; and added, That Monſieur *de Montreſor* (who he knew not only to be my Couſin Germain, but alſo my moſt intimate Friend, and who likewiſe was very particularly his,) had aſſur'd him that I would be glad to ſerve him: The anſwer that I thought the fitteſt to make *Drouilly* was, That Monſieur *de Beaufort* did me too great an honour in confiding in me, and that I beſeeched him to tell me in what I might be ſerviceable to him; proteſting to execute whatſoever he ſhould require of me, with little ſucceſs perhaps, but with much zeal and fidelity. Whereupon he told me, That Monſieur *de Beaufort* deſir'd, that with ſome other of his Friends, I would take upon me to declare directly to the King his return into *France*; but at the ſame time he told me, That having delivered a Letter to Monſieur *de Brienne*, wherein the Duke *de Beaufort* had deſir'd the ſame thing of him that he had of me, the good man, a better Courtier than I perchance might have been, had told him that the way to ruine his intereſt was to execute what he propos'd: for he

himſelf, who knew better how the World then ſtood, than he who was ſo newly come from beyond Seas; was of opinion that it ſhould be firſt told to the chief Miniſters, and that he would go that minute to find them out: The affair being thus, I told him it was now paſt conſulting, and that ſince the chief Miniſters knew of the Duke *de Beaufort*'s return, it was fit to expect what they would do, and not to undertake any negotiation with the King without them, which would but provoke them, and make them his Enemies; for my own part, I was juſt returning from *Paris* to *St. Germains*, where the King was, with deſign that if I ſaw a favourable moment to ſerve him, I would not to let it ſlip; as ſoon as I came to *St. Germains*, thinking to tell the Queen this news, I found that ſhe was already well inſtructed of it; I ſince heard it was by the Biſhop of *Liſieux*: Some time afterwards Meſſieurs *de Sully*, *de Rets*, *de Fieſque*, *de Chabot*, and I, went to *Anet* to viſit the newly arriv'd Duke; 'twas in this Journey that I enter'd into a more ſtrict bond of friendſhip with him, for before I was not much acquainted with him, and alſo in ſome occaſions

was

was engag'd in intereſts contrary to his; as, in my opinion, the greateſt mark of eſteem and love, is truſt; 'twas by that I was engag'd by him; he expreſs'd himſelf to be extreamly oblig'd to me for my frank anſwer to *Drouilly*, he diſcours'd with me without the leaſt reſerve of all his concerns, and at length upon the preſent ſtate of the Court, not in very polite terms, (he not being naturally eloquent,) but yet by words which plainly manifeſted the moſt beautiful and noble thoughts that could be wiſhed, and wherein I obſerved that he was much fortify'd in *England*, having both carefully ſtudied, and well retain'd the maxims of ſome men of honour and integrity, whom he had there frequented, but what bound me yet more to him was two things, one whereof was the ſtraight union I knew he had with Monſieur *de Montreſor*, whoſe intereſts was always mine, and the other was the extraordinary zeal that appear'd in him for the Queens ſervice, which was the party to which I abſolutely adher'd; this laſt conſideration it was that weigh'd down the ballance, and 'twas the ſame that united me ever ſince to him; but becauſe it will appear more plain

plain in the following diſcourſe, I am oblig'd to return nigher its beginning, to deliver it more exactly.

After the Cardinals death, all *France* was fill'd with an imagination of an entire change in the management of affairs; all people knew that he maintain'd his power with the King only by the awe he had over him, therefore it was believ'd that the cauſe dying with him, the Kings hatred would fall upon all the remains of his family and party; but theſe hopes, which only ſerved to flatter ſo many, were ſoon ended, for in a few days after they ſaw (with wonder) his houſe confirm'd in its ancient dignity, his laſt Will entirely obſerv'd, ſave only in one point, which was the change of the Offices of Sur-intendant of the Admiralty, and the General of the Galleys, the firſt whereof were given to the Duke *de Brezé*, and the laſt to the *Petit pont de Courlay*, Duke *de Richelieu*, although his Eminence on his Death-bed had deſired the contrary, and had deſign'd the office that was given to the one for other; I ſhall not ſpeak of the buſtle this buſineſs made between the Dutcheſs *d' Aiguillon* and the Mareſchal *de Brezé*, who ſpoke againſt her all

that

that his rage could ſuggeſt, I will only ſay that the Mareſchal's ancient familiarity with the King gave him that advantage, without the help of any body; but although the diſpoſals of the beſt Offices and Governments of the Kingdom ſeem'd prepoſterous to thoſe who conſider'd it, and though the Government of *Britany*, given to the Mareſchal *de Milleray* (who we ſaw poorly quit it a little after) appear'd very extraordinary; people were much more ſurpriz'd to ſee Cardinal *Mazarine*, Monſieur *Chavigny*, and Monſieur *Noyers*, without any others, in the Kings moſt ſecret Councils; I ſay only, becauſe that although the Chancellour, the Sur-intendant *Boutilier*, and the two Secretaries of State, *de Brienne*, and *de la Vrilliere*, were in appearance preſent at all the deliberations, it is certain that the private intrigues were only known to the firſt three; and beſides the great Council wherein all thoſe that I have nam'd did ſit, which was held once or twice a week, thoſe three living aſſiduouſly at *St. Germaines*, held alſo one at leaſt every day with the King, wherein the moſt principal things were reſolv'd. Their Protector was no ſooner dead,

dead, but they seeing themselves call'd to the chief ministry of affairs, judg'd that the only way to maintain themselves in it, was to be united together, and to act with one accord in all things; but whatsoever resolution they had taken, their first actions, and the different ways they took, soon discover'd their secret divisions; Cardinal *Mazarine* and Monsieur *de Chavigny*, who were always united, were yet more strictly in this juncture; and as the last was not ignorant of the aversion the King had for him, he believ'd that nothing could support him, but to joyn his interests inseparably with the others, who being but newly enter'd into the management of affairs, would for a long time stand in need of his instructions; the method they took to insinuate themselves into the Kings favour, was to appear dis-interested in all things, even to affect saying that the greatest desire of one was to return into *Italy*, and of the other to retire from the bustle and noise of the Court, to live more quiet; this first foundation laid, they next made themselves sure of people to declare their good services to the King, and who endeavour'd to perswade him, that the great expence that Cardi-

Cardinal *Mazarin* had always made, was an infallible effect of a humour no ways greedy of Money, and what he believ'd neceſſary in the place which he then held, of firſt Miniſter of State; for which reaſon he recall'd to Court the Commander *de Sourray*, who by having been bred up with the King had acquir'd ſo perfect a knowledge of his nature, that he appear'd now moſt capable to ſerve them, though the deceas'd Cardinal, after the Siege of *Rochelle*, fearing his Wit, had remov'd him from the King, he had not forgot the way to inſinuate himſelf into his affection, ſo that in few days he re-enter'd into his Majeſties favour, enough to become uſeful to thoſe who employ'd him.

But beſides this firſt Emiſſary, their free and magnificent manner of living, the profeſſion which they made to oblige all the people of quality, and the particular care they took to releaſe ſome who were Priſoners, and recal others from Baniſhment, gain'd them the friendſhip, or at leaſt the complaiſance and approbation of the greateſt part of the Court, and amongſt the reſt the Meſſieurs *de Schomberg*, *de Leſdiguieres*, *de la Rochefoucault*, and *de Mortemar*;

temar; I omit ſpeaking of Monſieur *de Liancourt*, for he having been always an intimate friend of *Chavigny*, and a particular one of the Cardinal's, 'twas not ſtrange that he continued in the ſame condition. The little Monſieur *de Noyers* had the ſame intent as the others, to inſinuate himſelf into his maſters affection, but the method he took was quite contrary, for the two firſt affected ſplendour and ſhew, inſtead of which his manner of living was low and obſcure; and whilſt the others had their houſes fill'd with company, and paſs'd away part of the day, and often the whole night at play, or ſome other diverſion, he apply'd himſelf cloſer than ever to buſineſs, and hardly ever ſtirr'd out of his Chamber, but only at thoſe times that he was ſerving God, or waiting upon the King, with whom his Office of a Secretary of State for the Army gave him more agreeable Subjects to entertain his Majeſty with, than the others; for as great negotiations hung heavy upon that Prince, the care and examination of his Souldiers ſeem'd to be his only buſineſs; he loved now and then to retrench from the Officers, and to talk of the particulars of every Office,

fice, in the diſpoſal whereof his greateſt power he thought chiefly appear'd; the profeſſion of devotion which Monſieur *de Noyers* made, gave him beſides that a familiarity with his Majeſty above the other two, for he never fail'd waiting upon him at all his private devotions, and often in his Oratory; where after having accompanied him in ſaying of his Breviary, he had long conferences with him. The King one time offering to give him 1 or 2 hundred thouſand Crowns for a certain buſineſs, he would not accept them, but upon condition that he might employ them in the building of the *Loure*; and this proof of his not being intereſted, wrought no ſmall effect upon the King. The Priſoners and the exil'd found neither Protector nor Interceſſor in him; all the way he took to defend himſelf from the burthen of the publick hatred, was to aſſure them, That he would not oppoſe the Kings favour in their behalf: In this manner of proceeding he had two aims, one to pleaſe his Majeſty, who he knew was not naturally inclin'd to do good; the other was to ſhew the reſpect he had for the memory of the deceas'd Cardinal, in not conſenting ſo ſoon to be an inſtru-

inſtrument of altering what he had done; and thereby caſt upon him all the violences that had paſs'd: This was the firſt introduction of thoſe Gentlemen, and their manner of proceeding, till the end of the year 1642. but before I leave this ſubject, I will ſay what concerns my ſelf in it, that having treated about my place, and ſeeing that I ſhould have principally to do with Monſieur *de Noyers*, as Secretary for the Army; I ſpoke to him about it, and was confirm'd by him in the deſign that I had taken to addreſs my ſelf directly to the King, who receiv'd me with all poſſible kindneſs, and without taking advice of any body, if it be true as the Chancellour then told me, the other two would not have been kind to me, but the King did not then love them; and I know not if it be that which I ought to look upon as the firſt foundation of the Cardinals hatred to me. In the beginning of the year 1643. thoſe two parties ſeeing the Kings indiſpoſition growing daily worſe and worſe, leaving him but little hopes of a much longer life, every one of them judg'd it now time to think of getting a ſupport; and as they were of different opinions in

in other things, they were no leſs in this Monſieur *de Chavigny* believed, that his Place, and aſſiduous waiting upon Monſieur, and the Services that he pretended to have done him ſince the Treaty with *Spain*, would be look'd upon as very meritorious by his Royal Highneſs; and, on the contrary, the Queen would always hate him, as the having been the Principal Miniſter of her Enemy; he inclin'd Cardinal *Mazarin* to Monſieur's Side, and both endeavour'd to perſwade the King to recall him to Court. There is one thing particularly to be mentioned in that, which at firſt, perhaps, does not appear of great importance, but which prov'd of ſo fatal a Conſequence to me, that I may ſay, it was the beginning of my Ruine. After the taking of Monſieur *le Grand*, the Treaty with *Spain* being diſcover'd, there was a Talk that it was by the means of the Count *de Bethune*; Monſieur ſeem'd to ſtrengthen that Falſhood, by tacitly confeſſing it, excited by *la Riviere*, who believ'd he could be no way better reveng'd of Monſieur *de Montreſor* during his abſence, nor better cut off all ways of his returning again to his Maſter, than by making him Author, or at leaſt Approver of ſo black a Ca-

lumny againſt one of his beſt Friends. That Detraction was but ſhort-lived; and the deceas'd Cardinal, tho not much a Friend to the Count *de Bethune*, diſabus'd all thoſe who ſpoke to him about it. The world may judge how much a Man of Honour ought to be ſenſible of ſuch an Offence; but the Cardinal's Authority, which protected *la Riviere* exempted him from ſatisfying the juſt Reſentments that are due to ſuch an Injury. He maintain'd this Report during the Cardinal's Life, without ſuſpicion; but his Death changing the Face of things, and *la Riviere* not knowing if his Maſter would be able or kind enough to ſupport him againſt ſo conſiderable a Family, and ſeeing no other Prop, he fell into a mortal Fear; and ſome days after being ſent for to come to *Paris*, by Monſieur *de Chavigny*, to Treat about his Maſter's Return, he could not be perſwaded to take the Journey, before he was ſecure that the Count *de Bethune* was appeas'd, and Monſieur *de Chavigny* who had need of him, employed Monſieur *de Liancour*; and alſo ſpoke himſelf to the Count *de Bethune*, who being ſenſible of the higheſt affront that could be given a Gentleman, could not for ſome time be induc'd to give him his Word, till at length

length he was commanded by a Letter from the King, (ſent by *Varrennes*, one of the Meſſengers, to him) which, tho it put a ſtop to his Proceeding, did but increaſe his Hatred, which was both right and juſtly founded. Perhaps this Digreſſion may ſeem a little long; but it will appear hereafter, that it is to my purpoſe. *La Riviere* being at length come to Court, manag'd, with the Aſſiſtance of the two Miniſters, the Intereſt of his Maſter ſo ſucceſsfully, that in a little time he was ſeen with the King his Brother, in a very good Underſtanding, as to all appearance; whilſt Cardinal *Mazarin* and Monſieur *Chavigny* took ſo much Pains on their Sides, Monſieur *de Noyers* took the other Ship-wrack'd Veſſel, and, by *Chaudenier* his intimate Friend, aſſur'd the Queen of his ſervice, and of an inſeparable adherence to her Intereſt. After that firſt Declaration, he had upon the ſame Subject ſeveral Diſcourſes with the Biſhop of *Beauvais*, in which he clearly enough manifeſted the Deſigns of his Collegues, who gave him ſufficient Subject for Diſcourſe at that time; for ſeeing the King's Diſtemper ſtill increaſed by little and little, and his Majeſty having ſeveral times ſpoken to them about ſettling the Affairs of the

Kingdom; they perſwaded Father *Sirmond*, his Confeſſor, to propoſe to him a Corregency betwixt Monſieur his Brother and the Queen; and at the ſame time ſollicited many of the Parliament at *Paris* to purſue the ſame Deſign, and made uſe of the Interpoſition of the Preſident *de Maiſon* for that effect. But that Propoſition ſo much diſpleaſed the King, that after he had ſharply rebuked them, and alſo ſpoke to the Queen ſomething of it, he gave ear no more to his Confeſſour, and diſmiſſing him upon ſome other pretext, took Father *Dinet* into his Place. After this firſt Attempt, theſe Gentlemen ſeeing themſelves utterly excluded from their Hopes, follow'd another Bias, which agreed better with the King's Inclination, (who was carried to it enough of himſelf, thinking the Queen incapable of the Management of Affairs) which was to propoſe that ſame Declaration which appear'd two Months after, and which had been publiſh'd at that very time, if Monſieur *de Noyers* had not diſſwaded the King from it. He gave the Queen notice thereof, whom this Advice about the Regency infinitely alarm'd: At the ſame time the King's having been in a Fever, which the Phyſicians apprehended dangerous,

gerous, thoſe who underſtood the Particulars of the thing, offer'd anew their Services to the Queen; and I (whom ſhe had forbidden ſome time before to ask to ſerve as *Mareſchal de Camp*, judging me more uſeful to her in the Court) offer'd my ſelf to her, (if the King came to the laſt Extremity) to go with my Regiment of *Suiſſes* and ſeiſe upon the *Palais*, and hinder every body whatſoever from entring, till ſuch time as ſhe ſhould be received into it. This Propoſition appearing full of Love and Boldneſs, did not a little pleaſe her; and the Anſwer ſhe made me ſhew'd, that ſhe was ſatisfied with me, and believ'd me intirely hers. A little before, the Cardinal, and Monſieur *de Chauvigny*, had perſwaded the King to ſet at Liberty the Mareſchals *de Vitry* and *Baſſompierre*, and the Count *de Cramail*. The Means which they made uſe of to effect it, deſerves to be written, being not unpleaſant; for they ſeeing that the King was not much inclin'd to it, attaqu'd him on his weakeſt Side, repreſenting to him, That thoſe three Priſoners were an extreme Expence to him in the *Baſtille*, and they not being in a condition to make any Party in the State, would be

even as well at their own Houſes, where they would coſt him nothing. This Deſign ſucceeded; for the King was poſſeſs'd with ſo extraordinary an Avarice, that whoſoever had pretention to ask him for Money, ſeem'd to hang heavy upon him, to ſuch a degree, that when *Treville*, *Beaupuy* and ſeveral others that the late Cardinal upon his Deathbed had forced him to relinquiſh, were returned, he ſought all occaſions to find out ſomething to reproach them with, thereby to take away all Hopes of Recompence for all that they had ſuffer'd for him. The recalling ſeveral from Baniſhment, follow'd after the Freedom of thoſe Priſoners: The Mareſchal *d'Eſtrée* had leave to return from *Italy*, and Monſieur *de Mercœur* to Court, where being introduc'd by Cardinal *Mazarin*, he ſpoke for his Brother to come to Court, which he quickly did with great Glory and Eſteem: Before he went to the Miniſters, he went ſtrait to the King, who received him with the greateſt Marks of Kindneſs, and in a moment after his Arrival began to diſcourſe with him about the Affairs of *England*, in ſuch a manner, as if he himſelf had ſent him thither. The ſame day he granted to the Duke *de Mercœur*

cœur Permiſſion for the Duke *de Vendoſme* to return back into *France*, and alſo ſaw the Dutcheſs of *Vendoſme*, whom he had ſeverely ſent away, without ſo much as ſeeing her, when ſhe came to wait upon him, even after the Cardinal's Death. Upon this Return of the Duke *de Vendoſme*, the Queen ſhew'd much Kindneſs to the Duke *de Beaufort*; ſhe appear'd to concern her ſelf in the Treatment he had receiv'd from the King; ſhe ſpoke to him with great Familiarity, and by the Favour ſhe ſhew'd him, fully confirm'd what ſhe had ſaid to us at our return from *Anet*, which was that we came from ſeeing the worthieſt Man in *France*: It is certain, altho he be unfortunate, that he has excellent Qualities; and for Honeſty, and Fidelity, there are few can compare with him. I pretend not to ſay, that he has all the Prudence that one would wiſh; and I muſt own, that a little too much Vanity, and Fire of Youth, made him commit at his Return many remarkable Faults: perchance there may be a time (if it pleaſe God) that I may ſee him in a condition to remember him of a Diſcourſe I had one day with him, wherein I told him, That as he then ſtood, he ought not to purſue

the Follies of Women, but that the *Hero* ought to be the Principal Buſineſs of his Life: Had he taken this Advice, he had not acquir'd many powerful Enemies, who contributed ſo much to his Ruine: But 'tis a common Fault to People of his Age, to let themſelves be govern'd by Love and Hate: Without proceeding to farther Particulars, the Hatred of Madam *de Montbaſon* to the Duke *de Longueville*, and his to his own Wife, was the Cauſe that when his Love croſs'd his Intereſt, he was carried to act what he little conſidered, and having diſobliged the Duke *d' Anguien*, he made him take the Party of the great Maſter againſt him. He made another Enemy at the ſame time; but this he only did by his Generoſity and Conſtancy: for, profeſſing himſelf an intimate Friend to *Meſſieurs de Bethune* and *Montreſor*, he would not ſalute *la Riviere*, which infinitely ſeparated him from the Correſpondence and Intereſt of Monſieur, who already had a grudging to him, in that he having ſpoken to him concerning the Treaty of *Spain*, he excus'd himſelf from entring into it, ſaying, That he ought firſt to have his Father's Advice about it, who was in *England*,

land, and to whom they would ſcarce entruſt ſuch a Secret. Moſt People have wonder'd, that he refus'd to enter into a League made againſt the Capital Enemy of his Houſe; and I my ſelf could hardly comprehend the Reaſon of his being ſo backward on this Subject, did I not know, that ſome time after he diſcover'd it to the Queen, by one to whom ſhe would not diſcloſe her ſelf, nor ſcarcely give ear to, not judging the Perſon prudent enough to manage an Intrigue of that importance: and, if I miſtake not, it was becauſe before he entred upon ſo difficult a Point, he endeavour'd to know the Queens Opinion, to whom from that time he abſolutely devoted himſelf. In fine, whatever Reaſon he had to refuſe it, Monſieur was beyond all meaſure diſſatisfied at it; and this Pretext ſeem'd plauſible enough to furniſh *la Riviere* with matter to incence his Royal Highneſs againſt him. During theſe different Intrigues, the King grew daily weaker, ſeldom going out of his Chamber, and the Phyſicians began to own the Period of his Life drew nigh: His ſad Condition made the Cardinal and Monſieur *Chavigny* labour more preſſingly to confirm themſelves;

and

and when they ſaw that all they had done in favour of Monſieur, had brought forth no other Fruit, than the publiſhing the Inclination that almoſt all *France* had to ſerve the Queen; and that his Royal Highneſs, loſing all hopes of being Corregent, did declare, that he ſubmitted himſelf moſt willingly to her, they try'd to regain her Favour, made new Proteſtations of Fidelity to her, and alſo endeavoured to work upon the Biſhop of *Beauvais*; but their Endeavours prov'd fruitleſs, and their Complements but little perſwaſive, becauſe (beſides that they had openly engag'd themſelves for Monſieur) Monſieur *de Noyers*, who from the beginning had given teſtimony of his Zeal for the Queens Service, bore away the Merit of all that had paſs'd till that time; and they, on the contrary, were look'd upon as the Authors of all the ill; and their Change rather thought a want of Power, than a Proof of their Good-wills: And certainly they had made but little Progreſs on that ſide, had the little Good man Monſieur *de Noyers* had a little more patience, or been a little more ſubmiſſive to the King: His Retreat is generally imputed to his Diſcontent, that he could not

not obtain that Power with the King that he had fancied to himſelf, and to ſee (as is believed) the Cardinal prevail over him. 'Tis believ'd he ſo ſuddenly ask'd his Diſcharge, about a Conteſt he had concerning the Mareſchal *de la Motthé*, and for the Expence of the Army in *Italy*, which he not being able to obtain himſelf, employ'd the Cardinal in, who perform'd it ſo effectually, that the very ſame Night he brought him leave to go to *Dangic*; but for my part, I believe, as all Intelligent Men do, that what appear'd the firſt Motion of a haſty Mind, was the Maſter-ſtroke of a fore-ſeeing and refin'd Courtier; and that Monſieur *de Noyers*, ſeeing the Declaration, that he had retarded till then, would in few days be publiſhed, (either by the King's Reſolution, or by the Suggeſtions of the other two Miniſters) and that he was comprehended in the number of thoſe who were ſet down to be of the Council of the Regency, was perſwaded, that if he retir'd from Court at a time when the King had not long to live, the Queen would not loſe the Remembrance of his Services, but being juſtly incens'd againſt both the others, by reaſon of that Declaration, which

ſeem'd

ſeem'd to put her under Tutelage, as ſoon as ſhe ſhould be in Power, would recall him; and removing thoſe two Concurrents, would be neceſſarily oblig'd to make uſe chiefly of him, as beſt inſtructed in the State of Affairs. The following Diſcourſe will make appear, that this Judgment is not ill-grounded; but before I go any farther, I am oblig'd to relate ſome particular Paſſages: The firſt is of the Government of *Britany*, given to the Great Maſter, which gain'd him the Hatred of the whole Houſe of *Vendoſme*, which Diſagreement divided the whole Court; the Dukes *d' Anguien*, *de Longueville*, *de Leſdiguieres*, *de Schomberg*, and *de la Roche Faucault*, and ſome others, took part with the Great Maſter; and almoſt all the reſt declared themſelves for the Houſe of *Vendoſme*. The Prince *de Marcillac* being oblig'd by Monſieur *le Prince*, and ſeeing his Father of his Party, was juſt going to enter into it alſo; but ſpeaking to the Queen about it, ſhe commanded him to offer himſelf to the Duke *de Beaufort*, ſpeaking of him as a Man for whom ſhe had as much Eſteem and Affection, as for any Man in the World. That Order which he received became known

to

to almoſt all who were then at *St. Germains*; and my ſelf hapned to have Diſcourſe with her Majeſty about two things, which being only of my own Concerns, were never publick, but only talk'd on amongſt my particular Friends: The firſt was concerning the Duke *de Beaufort*; and expreſſing much love for him, I told her, That the chief Reaſon that bound me to his Friendſhip, was the extraordinary Zeal that I found in him for the Intereſt of her Majeſty; that Point pleas'd her, and ſhe dilated upon the Subject that I had begun, in ſo kind Expreſſions, as left me no more Reaſon to doubt her Confidence in that poor Prince, and how much thoſe pleas'd her who took his part. The other Diſcourſe was a little longer; but the Subject was, That at the ſame time that I enter'd into the Office of Colonel-General of the *Suiſſes*, Monſieur *de Noyers* put in *L'iſle de Sourdiere*, his Creature, to be Commiſſary-General of that Nation. Tho this was very prejudicial to me, I had no reaſon to complain, becauſe it was reſolv'd on before I thought of buying that Place: 'Twas nevertheleſs a very great Inconvenience to me; for Monſieur *de Noyers*, who ſeiz'd upon every

every thing that came within his Graſp, gave to his Dependent a very great Authority, which prov'd very prejudicial to mine. He was no ſooner retir'd, but the moſt part of the Court, who were ignorant of my Concerns, preſs'd me to think of ſuppreſſing that New Officers: For my part, tho I had no Engagement with Monſieur *de Noyers*, to oblige me from making uſe of the Occaſion his Diſgrace gave me, knowing the Queen thought him her Servant, and was not ſatisfied with the others, of whom I was to ſeek a Support, the firſt thing I did, I reſolv'd to know her Opinion; and and going to her, told her, That this little Change had offer'd me an Opportunity to procure my ſelf an Advantage, which would increaſe my Authority, and make me in a better capacity to ſerve her in my Office; but endeavouring to diſpoſſeſs one who was a Creature of Monſieur *de Noyers*, who had appear'd moſt zealous for her Service; and it alſo being neceſſary for me to apply my ſelf to thoſe who had ſo demean'd themſelves to her, that I had reaſon to believe her diſſatisfied with them, I would not undertake any thing, till I came to know what her Majeſty would command

mand me in it; That being abſolutely devoted to her, I would accept no Advantage nor Favour but what came by her; and that I ſhould have waited without the leaſt impatience, till her Majeſty was in a condition to have done ſomething for me, without ever troubling her with my own Intereſt, had I not believ'd I ought to have rendred her an Account of this, to know of her if by my increaſe of Power ſhe would judge me in a better condition to obey her Commands. After much Kindneſs, and aſſurance that ſhe would never forget the Zeal that I had always expreſs'd for her Service, ſhe anſwer'd, That I might make uſe of that Occaſion, and ſerve my ſelf in what I could, and that ſhe ſhould be very glad of it, becauſe the more Authority I had, I ſhould be the more uſeful to her; That Monſieur *de Noyers* had made too much haſte, and had ruin'd himſelf for his Fancy: And after ſome little Diſcourſe concerning him, ſhe ended without ſpeaking a word of the other two Miniſters; and promis'd me, as ſhe left me, that if I could not obtain it before ſhe came into Authority, ſhe her ſelf would grant me that Favour with a great deal of joy.

After

After this Conference, I desir'd the Commander *de Souvray* to speak to the Cardinal, and Monsieur *de Liancour* to Monsieur *de Chavigny*, to be kind to me upon this Occasion: The Answer they both return'd, was, That they would most willingly use all their Interest in it, but that they must defer it some days, because it would be the ready way to ruine themselves, to speak to the King so soon against a Man with whom they had no difference, and who entred into the Management of Affairs the same way that themselves did. It is certain, that they were not then too well assured of the King; and from the next day after Monsieur *Noyers* Disgrace, he never spoke to the Cardinal about Business, but in Monsieur *de Chavigny*'s absence: as also upon a Proposition that the Cardinal made to him, he answer'd sharply, *That it was Italian-like.* To return to my Discourse: I had not time to see the Effects of their Promises; for eight days after, the King finding himself extremely weak, declared his Will about the Regency, speaking openly of that Declaration whereof I have already made mention. I believe the two Chief Ministers did not prejudice the Queen in

it;

it; but, as I have already ſaid, 'tis certain, that in ſome Points of it they ſeem'd exactly to gueſs at the King's Thoughts, who judg'd the Queen incapable of Buſineſs, and moſt paſſionate for her own Country; and believed nothing ſo pernicious to the State, as the Authority of Monſieur *de Chaſteauneuf*, amongſt other things believing him inſeparable from Madam *de Cheureux*, whom he ſuſpected, and had endeavour'd to find an Expedient to Baniſh for ever out of *France*. Neither was his Inclination more kind for Monſieur his Brother; and I know, that he often ſaid to the Queen in his Sickneſs, That their Children had reaſon chiefly to fear him: So that whatſoever related to his Royal Highneſs, undoubtedly proceeded from his own natural Inclination. In ſhort: whether this came from the King himſelf, or was the advice of his Miniſters, the Queen grew extreamly inveterate againſt them, ſaying to thoſe who had free acceſs to Her, That it ought never to be pardon'd; and had the Cardinal, Her declared Enemy, ſtill liv'd, he could not have done worſe to her. The publick Marks of her Anger, and open

Hatred ſhe ſhew'd them, was the cauſe that all thoſe who particularly adher'd to her, abſolutely forbore all Correſpondence with them; and from the day that the King had the Declaration read before him, and made the Queen and Monſieur take an Oath to obſerve it, obliging Monſieur the next day to carry it to the Parliament, the Dukes *de Vendoſme*, *Mets*, and *Rets*, the Prince *de Marcillac*, the Count *de Fieſque*, the Count *de Bethune*, and *Beaupuy*, as alſo many other of her particular Servants, whereof I my ſelf was one, viſited them no more. This was the beginning of our Misfortunes; for this firſt Step being made, it was almoſt impoſſible to retire again handſomly: But two Reaſons chiefly oblig'd us to this; one was, a Deſign to pleaſe the Queen, in going no more nigh thoſe we knew ſhe hated; the other was the King's extreme Sickneſs, which gave even the Phyſicians reaſon to believe, that he could not live above two or three days, and made us reſolve (ſeeing thoſe two declining) to puſh them to the laſt, and endeavour to perſuade the Queen to put in their Places Perſons very capable, and whom the greateſt part of us might hope to find our Friends.

This

This Deſign appear'd very eaſie to us, conſidering what way the Queen was then inclin'd. The day that was appointed for the Declaration, the Phyſicians gave their Opinions, that the King could ſcarcely live till the next day; in conſideration whereof, they began to ſpeak to him to pardon and recall all thoſe who had been exil'd: The Duke *de Beaufort* was the firſt, who ſpoke for his Father, and told the Miniſters publickly, that if they did not that very moment prefer his Suit to the King, he would do it himſelf: But they, not to loſe their Employments, inſtantly ſpoke to the King about it, and at length obtain'd the ſame Favour for Monſieur *de Bellegarde*, for the Mareſchals *de Vitry*, *Baſſempierre*, and *d'Eſtrée*, for the Count *de Cramait*, for *Manicant*, and *Belenghen*. The Duke *de Vendoſme* return'd the very ſame day that *Anet* did; but thoſe who were farther off, arrived one after the management of State Affairs, and another, all the reſt of the Week. The Queen in the mean time, little accuſtom'd to Buſineſs, and finding her ſelf amus'd through the variety of Addreſſes, deſir'd for her own Eaſe, that they would make their Applications to the Biſhop *de Beauvais*, in whom

for a long time, but particularly ſince Winter, ſhe repoſed her principal Truſt. She could not have choſen a better Man for Fidelity, nor hardly a worſe for Capacity, the good Prelate not having a Brain ſtrong enough to ſupport ſuch a Charge.

We found what ſort of Man he was, the very day that ſome of the Parliament, who were very zealous for the Queen, asked him what Service they could render her Majeſty in the Parliament, (not doubting but the firſt Mark he aim'd at would be to null the Declaration) but he unſeaſonably pretended to be ignorant of her Majeſties Intentions, delaying things at a time when the King appearing ſo near his End, made the loſs of every moment irreparable. He is a Man of approved Honeſty, and moſt diſintereſted as to Riches; but he is Ambitious, as moſt Devotes are: and ſeeing himſelf deſign'd for Firſt Miniſter of State, he look'd upon every one to caſt a Shadow upon his Glory: He began to grow cool, even to the Duke *de Beaufort*, with whom he had till then been in a perfect good Underſtanding; and went ſo far in it, that the Queen for ſome days would not ſee him, thinking that

that 'twas he who would have had her take Monſieur *de Limoges* about her; but the Biſhop acknowledg'd his Fault, and immediately changed his Proceedings upon this Subject, tho he did not the ſame to Monſieur *de Chaſteaunef*; for apprehending leſt the Queen might renew her former Inclination for him, and ſo diminiſh his Power, he ruin'd him, as far as poſſibly he could; and I am ſtill in a doubt, whether it was not by his Advice, that the Queen ſome time before promis'd the Seals to the Preſident *le Baillieul*.

I know before the King's Death ſhe had chang'd her Mind, and was reſolved to do Juſtice to Monſieur *de Chaſteauneuf*; but I can hardly believe that the Biſhop of *Beauvais* contributed to it, and am certain, that the good Man not knowing his Strength, would have laid upon his own Shoulders the Burden of the whole Government; but the Queen found him incapable of ſo great a Weight from the firſt Moment, which gave way to his Enemies to introduce themſelves, and ruine him; in ſtead whereof, had he recalled Monſieur *de Chaſteauneuf*, tho he had not poſſeſſed the Firſt he had at leaſt retained a very Honourable

Place. Bus (as I have already ſaid) he knew not his own Strength, and for all his Faults, he is yet worthy of Praiſe, in that he always dealt faithfully with his Friends, and that altho Cardinal *Mazarin* and Monſieur *de Chavigny* daily made to him ſome Propoſitions, yet he never engaged with them in any thing, that he did not firſt reveal to thoſe of his Party. Perchance I may be too tedious upon ſmall Circumſtances: but the three laſt Weeks of the King's Sickneſs being paſſed in little Intrigues, each particular whereof being conſiderable, I am forced to relate even thoſe of the leaſt Importance. The Evening of that Day which gave a Beginning to a thouſand different Negotiations, the King found himſelf a little better, but not well enough to give any hopes that he could live above two or three days longer: The next day he was much the ſame, and towards Night (in the preſence of Monſieur his Brother) choſe Cardinal *Mazarin* to be Godfather to the *Dauphin*, and the Princeſs of *Condy* to be the Godmother. The following day his Sickneſs increaſing, the Cardinal began to tell him, that it was now time to prepare for approaching Death.

Death. He had no ſooner ſpoke the word, but the King conſented to it with extreme Conſtancy and Piety; he Confeſs'd himſelf, and afterwards deſired the *Viaticum*: The reſt of the day the Phyſicians found he ſtill grew worſe and worſe; and the next day they judg'd him ill enough to receive the Extreme Unction. That Day (which was ſince nam'd *The Great Thurſday*) became remarkable in the Court for many things which paſſed in it, whereof the Original was, that the Great Maſter believing the King to be upon the Point of Death, and fearing leſt thoſe of the Family of *Vendoſme*, having almoſt all the Court on their Sides, might give him ſome Affront, reſolv'd to guard himſelf the beſt he could, ſending, for that purpoſe, through *Paris*, to ſeek out all the Officers depending upon his Place, who brought each one a Friend with him: All this Crowd amounted to about three or four hundred Horſe, which coming from *Paris* in large Troops, gave 'um a kind of an Alarm at *St. Germains*: Monſieur, upon the Report, ask'd Monſieur *le Prince* if he brought all thoſe Men with him; who anſwered, That he had ſent for them, thinking (as he has ſaid ſince)

that he had only ſpoke of his Officers: But Monſieur taking the thing another way, ſent at the ſame time for moſt part of his Followers; which being told the Queen, ſhe concluded it muſt be for ſomething extraordinary; inſomuch that ſhe immediately going from the Old to the New Palace, where the King was, left Meſſieurs *de Vendoſme* about the Princes her Children, recommending them chiefly to the Duke *de Beaufort*, in Terms which declared the higheſt Eſteem, and greateſt Confidence that could be expreſt. As ſoon as ſhe was come to the New Palace, ſhe call'd for me, and commanded me aloud to ſend Orders to the *Guard de Suiſſe* to be in a readineſs to March, and to ſend for ſeveral other *Suiſſe* Officers, whom I had told her were at *Paris*: She commanded me alſo to make ſure of all the Friends I could get. Both the King and ſhe gave afterwards Order to Monſieur *de Charots* to double the Guards within the Old Palace, where the day before we had ſet a Guard of two Regiments before the King's Apartment. Little could be added to the Suſpicion that they both ſhew'd they had of Monſieur; and I believe it would have been the ſame to

Monſieur

Monſieur *le Prince*, had he not been one of the firſt that came to relate what his Royal Highneſs had done, who reconcil'd himſelf that day to the Queen, tho not without Complaints of her Suſpicion, and laid all the Stir that had been made to Monſieur *le Prince*'s Charge. I muſt confeſs, had the Duke *de Beaufort* had only that one fortunate Day in his whole Life, I ſhould eſteem him Glorious, to have been choſen Guardian of the greateſt and moſt valuable Treaſure of *France*: He is blam'd to have been too forward; but there are few who in ſo advantagious an Opportunity would have been more moderate, and would not have been tranſported with Joy to ſee Five hundred Gentlemen (amongſt which there were many of the beſt Quality) who only waited his Orders; and to ſee even the Firſt Prince of the Blood come to Complement him. If the King had died that day, the Miniſters had certainly been loſt without hope; and the Queen, animated againſt them by ſo many powerful Reaſons, would never have pardon'd them: But tho that poor Prince found no Eaſe during all that day, in the Evening endeavouring to caſt off all thoughts of the State, he order'd

order'd the Queen to go and call a Council, (which ſhe did, after having long excus'd her ſelf with many Tears) he grew better in the Night, and the next day finding himſelf pretty well at eaſe, was ſhaved, and paſs'd the Afternoon in cauſing little red Muſhroms to be ſtrung, and hearing *Nielle* ſing by his Bed-ſide, now and then ſpeaking to him: About the Evening he told the Queen that he would call a Council, and commanded her to leave the Room; which ſhe took for a new Outrage done her by the two Miniſters, to whom this lucid moment of Health having given heart, their Adherents began to ſay, that if the King recover'd, they were ſure of ruining the * *Importants*, ſo they already called thoſe who had declared themſelves for the Queen, and were againſt them: But the following day the King being relapſed into his firſt languiſhing Condition, they had loſt all hopes of his Recovery, and renew'd with greater fervour their Deſigns to gain the Queen, in which they were aſſiſted by many Perſons very differing in their Intereſts. Madam *la Princeſs* (exaſperated againſt the Duke *de Beaufort*, for the ill uſage he

* *Les Importans.*

he had ſhew'd to the Ducheſs *de Longue-ville*, againſt whom he had made appear too much Malice and Severity) was one of the firſt who ſpoke for them: Monſieur *de Liancour* ſerv'd them with the extraordinary Zeal he on all occaſions expreſſes for his Friends; and his Wife, and Madam *de Chavigny*, let no Opportunity ſlip: But the ſtrongeſt Inſtruments that they employ'd, were Father *Vincent*, *Beringhent*, and *Mountaigu*; the firſt attaqu'd the Queens Conſcience, and inceſſantly preach'd to her the pardoning of her Enemies; the 2d, in quality of her firſt Servant of the *Chamber*, being aſſiduous at thoſe Hours when no body ſaw her, perſuaded her how uſeful they would be to her; and that having been ſecret to all the moſt important Affairs of the State, it was almoſt impoſſible for her at firſt to be without them: but the third, by Profeſſion devout, mingled God and the World together, joyning to the Reaſons of Devotion, the neceſſity of having a Chief Miniſter well-inſtructed in the Management of Affairs; adding yet another Reaſon, (that in my opinion abſolutely gain'd her) which was, That the Cardinal had it more in his power than any body to make

make the Peace, and that being born a Subject of the King her Brother, he would conclude it to the Advantage of her Family, which ſhe ought to endeavour to ſtrengthen, that ſhe might make it her Prop to ſupport her againſt any Faction that might riſe in *France* during her Regency.

Theſe were the principal Springs that theſe Gentlemen moved withal; to which I may alſo add the Princeſs *de Guienné*, ſince ſhe was one of the firſt to whom the Queen opened her Intentions, and one of thoſe who confirmed the Queen moſt in her Deſign to retain the Cardinal. I know not if I ought from that time alſo to count Monſieur *de Brienne* amongſt the number; but whether it was before or after the King's Death, it is certain, he was one of the firſt that changed his Side, after having promiſed us his Friendſhip. Perchance it will be wondered at, that all theſe things could paſs thus, and our Cabal ſtir no more; but this I have to anſwer, That, in the firſt place, the Biſhop of *Beauvais*, who appear'd the Chief in the Queen's ſecret Thoughts, was the firſt deceiv'd; for ſhe not being ſatisfied with the Anſwers he returned her to what

what ſhe firſt propos'd to him, began to diſlike him, and never after let him know the bottom of her Mind: Sometimes to him, and to us all, ſhe would ſhew an Inclination to keep the Cardinal in for a time; but the moment that we gave her any Reaſons to diſſuade her from it, ſhe ſeem'd to acquieſce to them, and ſpoke no more of it: But as her firſt mentioning of it gave us reaſon to ſuſpect, ſo her eaſie condeſcendence to every thing we repreſented, quickly confirmed us it was true; but what moſt deceived us, was, that at the ſame time that ſhe inclined towards the Cardinal, ſhe promiſed the Duke *de Beaufort* the Superintendency of the *Finances* for Monſieur *de la Vieu-ville*, and gave hopes of the Seals ſometimes to Monſieur *de Chaſteaunœuf*, ſometimes to Monſieur *Bailleul*; ſhe aſſured the Duke *de Vendoſme*, that in two hours after the King's Death, ſhe would recall Monſieur *de Noyers*; and alſo at laſt ſent for Father *Gondy*, and the Preſident *Barillon*, newly returned from his Exile at *Amboyſe*, to know their Opinions. I believe there might be much Diſſimulation in all that Proceeding; but it is ſure that there was much Uncertainty and Irreſolution: In the

the mean while the Cardinal labour'd not only on the Queens ſide, but try'd alſo to keep himſelf in with Monſieur, and to aſſure himſelf of Monſieur *le Prince*; but as for the laſt, (altho he had rather have ſeen things remain in their Hands that then govern'd, than Monſieur *de Chaſteauneuf*'s) he would never promiſe any thing, but only to do as Monſieur did; as for Monſieur, whom *la Riviere* abſolutely govern'd, he held the Cardinal in ſuſpence to the laſt; and had not his private Intereſt oppos'd his engaging with us, I believe he had never favour'd the other Party.

I have ſpoken already of his open enmity with Monſieur *de Montreſor*, and of the black Calumny that he invented againſt the Count *de Bethune*, after the Commands that the laſt had received from the King: *La Riviere* ſo much poſſeſt his Maſters Favour, that his Royal Highneſs cauſed a Letter to be written into *England*, wherein he deſir'd him to be reconciled to *la Riviere*: Monſieur *de Montreſor*, who would not declare his Mind at that diſtance, anſwered only, That when he returned into *France*, he hoped to have the Honour to diſcourſe with his Highneſs upon that Subject,

Subject, and then obey his Commands. This ambiguous Answer dissipated not *la Riviere*'s Fear, who seeing the Friends of both his Adversaries refuse either to speak to him, or salute him, fear'd lest in the Confusion of the King's Death, he might be Shipwrack'd for want of Harbour: Therefore he desir'd to be reconciled to the Duke *de Vendosme*, which he was by the Mediation of the Mareschal *d' Estrée*, who also spoke favourably of him to the Queen, (tho when he left *England*, he assur'd Monsieur *de Montresor* of an inviolable Friendship) but he still thought he did nothing, unless he also gain'd the Duke *de Beaufort*; for the accomplishing of which Design, the day before the King died, he desir'd the same Mareschal *d' Estrée* to tell him, That if he would promise him his Friendship, and protect him against the Rage of his two Enemies, he would make an equal Return, which was, to hinder the Cardinal's remaining in the Ministry, and to make Monsieur act conformably to their desires. I was the first to whom the Duke *de Beaufort* open'd this Proposition; and as he ask'd me my Advice, I told him, That private Interest ought always to yield

yield to Publick, and that I thought it very reaſonable that he ſhould give ear to the Offer which was made him; but that he muſt diſpence with me from medling in any thing, being Coſin-Germain, and an intimate Friend of Monſieur *de Montreſor*, he deſir'd me to ſpeak to the Count *de Bethune* about it, which I immediately did, with Monſieur *d' Humieres*; but I found him ſo prepoſſeſt with the Reſentment of it, that he would not yield to any other Conſideration, and all the Anſwer I could draw from him, and which he gave alſo to the Duke *de Beaufort* afterwards, was, That he referr'd it all to him, but that he could not anſwer for his Friend (who was abſent) which way he would encline: but he utter'd theſe words to the Duke *de Beaufort* in ſuch a manner, as ſhew'd it would mortally offend him to proceed any further in it, ſo that in a ſhort time he broke off the Treaty, whereat I was extreamly troubled; for though I will be ever for the Intereſt of my Friends, yet I confeſs, I cannot ſee in this any thing that could make him in diſpute, which way to take: and muſt own, I found Count *Bethunes* reaſons but weak, when he ſaid, That without

out regard to what concern'd himſelf, it was imprudence to confide in a Knave, though of Quality, and a profeſs'd Cheat; becauſe if he deceiv'd us, we ſhould be acquitted of our promiſes, and in a better condition than before, to purſue our Reſentments; and if he was juſt to his promiſe, he would make his Services conſiderable enough to blot out all that had paſs'd; as alſo when he ſaid, he made uſe of what was proffer'd him, to become more advantagious to us, which had he refus'd, might have done us harm: This could but be ſpoke in jeſt, ſince we had before declared againſt each other, and were in a manner irreconcilable. Be it what it would, the Duke *de Beaufort* would think of it no more; and this ought ſtill to add to his Glory, that on that occaſion, and on all others, he ſtill prefer'd Honor before Profit, and always the leaſt regarded what concerned himſelf, which appear'd evidently when the King diſtributed ſeveral of the greateſt Offices belonging to the Crown; and Monſieur *le Prince* had the great Maſter given to him: the Duke *de Beaufort* might have had the Maſter of the Horſe, if he would have made Friends for it,

and though that the Queen preſs'd him to take it, he always anſwered her, *That he would never receive any favor but from her*: And it is moſt certain, that at that time the Cardinal would have given any thing to have had him his Friend; and not only him, but all his party, which I know to be true. The Commander *de Souvray* being ſent to me from him to ſound me, told me, That although I was accounted amongſt his greateſt Enemies, yet our old Friendſhip at *Rome* hinder'd him from believing me ſo: To which I only anſwer'd, That I was oblidg'd to him for having that kind opinion of me, but that I medled with nothing, but to perform the duty of my charge, and ſerve the Queen.

Things were in this poſture when the King dy'd, at which time if an affront had been given to any one of the Miniſters, without doubt in the conſternation they were in, all the reſt had fled; but it was thought beſt to let the Queen take her own courſe, and the Biſhop of *Beauvais* promoted that Opinion. As ſoon as the Queen was return'd into the old Palace, and every one had paid their Homage to our new Monarch, there hap-

ned

ned a difference between Monſieur *le* Prince, and the Duke *de Beaufort*, wherein the laſt behaved himſelf a little too haughtily: The ſubject of it was, the Queen retiring from her Chamber till they had emptied the Room of the horrible croud that had preſs'd in, ſent the Duke *de Beaufort* to tell Monſieur, that he ſhould make them clear the Room, and that he ſhould ſtay alone with her to comfort her. Monſieur *le* Prince, who was ſtanding by his Royal Highneſs, catch'd immediately at the word, and anſwered, That if the Queen would command him any thing, ſhe ſhould ſend a Captain of the Guards to him; but as for the Duke *de Beaufort*, he would receive no Orders from him. The Duke *de Beaufort* anſwer'd him briskly, That he would not concern himſelf to give him any Order, but that there is no Man in *France* ſhould hinder him from doing what the Queen commanded. This little diſſention was appeas'd again in a moment, though the grudge ſtill remain'd: The Miniſters now beginning to find that it was talk'd publickly, that the Queen, as ſoon as ſhe was at *Paris*, would annul the Declaration, believ'd, that if they ſubmitted

to her, they might defend that ſtroak, and ſent to tell the Queen (as they had done before) they would abſolutely remit all the Authority given them by that Declaration, and paſs whatſoever Act ſhe pleas'd. This moderated the Queen, inſomuch that when ſhe came next day to *Paris*, ſhe was not reſolv'd what to do, but in the two following days they repreſented to her, that the Regency had neither its neceſſary luſter nor authority, if it was not confirm'd in Parliament; without reſtriction, they made it appear alſo to Monſieur, how much that Declaration was injurious to him, ſo that at length they both agreed to have it annull'd, Monſieur *le* Prince conſenting alſo to it. It is true, to get them to give their conſent, the Biſhop of *Beauvais* promis'd from the Queen, a Government, with ſeveral fortified places to his Royal Highneſs, and at length the ſame to the Duke *d'Anguien*. After this Contract, the Queen went to the Parliament, where was perform'd all ſhe deſired in ſo glorious a manner, that nothing could have been added to it; all the Parliament teſtifying, That they deſir'd nothing ſo much, as her abſolute Authority; they had taken a reſolution to

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preſent to her Majeſty a kind of Remonſtrance, moſt humbly to beſeech her to make uſe of Men of known Honeſty, and to remove from her thoſe that were the cauſes of the paſs'd Tyranny, there was none but the Preſident *Barillon* who ſaid obliquely ſomething about it; but they preſs'd it no farther, by the advice of the Biſhop *de Beauvais*, who told them, That it was fit to let the Queen have the glory to acquit her ſelf of them; the conſequence has ſufficiently condemn'd his advice, and all People muſt own, that had the Parliament ſpoken as they intended, they had Printed ſo black a Character upon the reputations of thoſe Miniſters, that the Queen, it may be, would have been aſham'd to have made uſe of them any more; beſides, already of themſelves they ſtood ſo wavering, that the leaſt wind would have over-whelm'd them.

I know not what aſſurance the Cardinal could then have of the Queens inclination for him, but if he had, he did not diſcover it to any one living, telling even his greateſt Confidents of his return into *Italy*, as a thing reſolved on; and appearing to be extreamly offended,

that when they annull'd the Declaration they did not except him, but the Scene of Affairs was presently changed; for about three or four hours after their return from the Palais, the Queen propos'd to him by Monsieur *le Prince*, to establish him by a Breviat in the same place that the Declaration gave him, and to make him besides that, President of her Councel: at first he refus'd this Proposition, but afterwards yielded to it, promising to remain in *France* only till such time as the Peace was concluded. You may judge how much we were all surpris'd, who believed him just ready to pass the Mountains; when we came at night to the *Louvre* and heard this good news, I found the Bishop of *Beauvais* in the Queens Closet, and telling him how much I was surprised at it, he reply'd, shrugging up his shoulders, That he could answer me as to what was done, but not what would follow: meaning by that, that he knew how that business would go in Parliament, but was ignorant what the Queen would do afterwards. I went away strangely confounded at the weakness of our chief Director, and going the same night to the *Hostel de Vendosme*, the Duke *de Beaufort*

fort told me, That the Biſhop of *Beauvais* having modeſtly complained to the Queen, that ſhe had ſo far acted without doing him the honor to communicate it to him; ſhe anſwer'd him, That ſhe found her ſelf neceſſitated to keep about her one of thoſe who was converſant in the principal Secrets of the State, and ſhe believed no body more proper for this, than Cardinal *Mazarin*, who as he was a Stranger, had neither any private intereſt or ſupport in *France*; that that ought not to allarum him or the reſt of her Servants, who were not in good correſpondance with him, ſince ſhe gave them her promiſe never to leave them; and as a mark, that though ſhe retain'd the Cardinal, ſhe embraced not his Intereſts, ſhe abandoned all the reſt of his Party. This Diſcourſe gave us new aſſurance, but after ſuch a ſtroak we believed we might have always reaſon to apprehend a change in ſo cloſe a mind.

Two days after arrived the News of the Victory of *Rocroy*, which wonderfully raiſed both Monſieur *le* Prince, and Madam *la* Princeſs his Wife; and as their hatred to the Houſe of *Vendoſme*

was manifeſt, the riſe of one ſtill ſeem'd to be a depreſſion of the other: Madam *la* Princeſs, who was inſolent and malicious as ſhe us'd to be when ſhe was in proſperity, one day when I went to wait upon her to divert her, began a Diſcourſe full of Satyr, which nevertheleſs ſhe ended very obligingly to me, but it was full of reflections upon the Duke *de Beaufort*; to whom I reply'd the beſt I could, without giving her offence. This glorious Succeſs made that Family hope, and even with reaſon, ask many great things, and made the Cardinal unite himſelf ſo ſtrictly to them. 'Twas then I began to be ſenſible that I was deceived, when I hoped to receive any great advantage from the Queens kindneſs, for only asking her a Company in the Regiment *de Rambures*, for the Brother of a Captain who they thought was kill'd in the Battle, ſhe did me the honor to refuſe me; but I muſt confeſs, that five or ſix days after, ſhe granted me a very great favor, in conſenting to the ſuppreſſion of the Office of the Commiſſary General of the *Suiſſe*, though it was done after having made many difficulties in it: The Biſhop of *Beauvais* was the only Man to whom I at firſt reveal'd it,

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and afterwards to the Queen, who told me, that ſhe would refer her ſelf to the determination of the Marſhal *de Baſempiere*, whom I intreated to be kind to me in it; which he was, and ſeem'd to rejoyce to have the occaſion. When I firſt bought my Place, I ſent to tell him when he was in the *Baſtille*, by the Count *de Bethune*, that if I believed not only that he pretended to it himſelf, but would be the leaſt diſ-ſatisfied to ſee it in the hands of another, I would think no more of it. He received this Meſſage with the greateſt Civility imaginable, and ſent back his Nephew *d'Eſtelan* to tell my Wife, that he was raviſhed to hear that I had the Place; that he himſelf would inſtruct me in my Duty, and be a Father to me: When I ſaw him in the *Baſtille*, he ſtill continued his Careſſes, and ſaid alſo the ſame thing when he was at liberty; and when he came to Court, after a hundred times embracing me, he ſaid aloud, That if he had yet remaining any Friends amongſt the *Suiſſe*, he would alſo make them mine: In the buſineſs of Commiſſary-General, he behaved himſelf with an extream care, and till ſuch time he ſaw me in diſgrace, he ſtill lived well with me;

me; but all that will appear in the following Diſcourſe.

And now to begin where I made this Digreſſion, a thing ſo conſiderable for my eſtabliſhment ſetled without my troubling, the Cardinal gave me reaſon to believe, that our party was not really ſo deſperate as we thought it; and though the Biſhop *de Beauvais*'s capacity was but ſmall, yet there was ſtill ſomething that appeared Great, to ſee him declared Miniſter of State, and deſign'd for a Cardinals Cap, the Queen having written to *Rome* for him; and perceiving alſo at the ſame time ſhe promiſed the Duke *de Vendoſme* the Government of *Britany* (which the Great Maſter had renounced) or an equivalent recompence: but nevertheleſs, the Cardinal ſtill advanced in her affections, and though that ſhe proteſted he ſhould never obtain any thing prejudicial to thoſe who had been her approved Servants, ſhe confeſt, That he had ſomething very taking in his Converſation, and always prais'd him for being diſ-interes'd. He on his part, was extraordinary civil to all the People of Quality; and except the Houſe of *Vendoſm*, which had openly

ly declared it ſelf againſt him, viſited all the Princes, Dukes and Peers, and the Officers of the Crown; People then began to wonder that we did not begin to think of ſome way to reconcile our ſelves to him, but it was impoſſible ever to ſee him again with kind looks; for we having broken with him for the Queens Intereſt, 'twas her part to preſcribe how we ought to live together: But beſides this publick, there was alſo a private Intereſt, which was the good underſtanding between him and the Chancellor, againſt whom the whole Family of *Vendoſme*, the Biſhop of *Mets*, Monſieur *de Montreſor*, Monſieur *de Bethune*, Monſieur *de Beaupuy*, and my ſelf, had openly declared, chiefly becauſe of the death of Monſieur *de Thou*; ſo that we believed we could not ſee him again with honor, as long as he was joyn'd with a Man that we had ſo much reaſon to hate: And to ſay the truth, it was a thing hard enough to be underſtood, that the Queen, to whom he had reaſon to appear more odious than to us, continued him ſtill in his Office: But as ſhe is ſuſceptable of whatſoever impreſſions are given her, the ſtrong interceſſions that was made for him, by little and

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little diminiſhed her juſt Reſentments of the Injuries he had done her. The firſt that ſpoke to her for him, was *Montague*, a Creature that had formerly depended upon Monſieur *de Chaſteauneuf*, and ſince gain'd to that Party during his retreat to *Pontoiſe*, by *Jane* a Carmelite Nun, who was Siſter to the Chancellor: Monſieur *de Brienne* ſeconded him in it, and preferr'd (as he himſelf ſaid) the Intereſt of a living acquaintance, before the memory of Monſieur *de Thou*, though he had been his moſt intimate Friend; but he is accus'd to have chiefly conſider'd Twenty thouſand Crowns, which they ſay was given him for his trouble: but that which wholly confirmed him in the place, was the conſideration of Monſieur *de Chaſteauneuf*, who was the only Man whoſe return the Cardinal fear'd; and ſeeing that now, in this time of general Indemnity, it would be impoſſible for him to oppoſe his liberty, ſince the chief crime that appear'd againſt him, was, that he had too much adhered to the Queens Intereſt: He let no opportunity ſlip, but took his Meaſures in the juſt time, and he was wonderfully aſſiſted by Madam *la* Princeſs, who in her new-blown

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Pride for the Victory of *Rocroy*, thought all things due to her, and declared publickly, That all the Family of *Condy* would be forced to leave the Court, if the Queen recall'd him to the Councel, who preſided at the condemnation of Monſieur *de Momerancy* her Brother. There needed no more to turn the Queen from Monſieur *de Chaſteauneuf*, who was already ſo cool in her kindneſs to him, that ſhe began to ſay, He was none of hers, but Madam *de Chevreuſes* Martyr; ſeparating thus her own Intereſts, from the Intereſt of that Perſon whom ſhe once ſo dearly loved, whoſe return now ſhe much more feared than deſired: She would have been content to have let her remain'd ſtill in *Flanders*; but ſince the Duke *d'Epernon*, and Monſieur *de Montreſor*, were already return'd from *England*, and *Fonetrailles* and *Aubijoux*, who were ſupported by Monſieur, appeared publickly in *Paris*; and that alſo Madam *de Senecey* and Madam *de Hautefort*, were not only return'd to Court, but in their places again, and all the reſt of the proſcribed were daily expected: It would be moſt unreaſonable to leave a Princeſs any longer in Exile, whom all *Europe* knew to be ſo, only.

ly for having been moſt zealous in her Service. If I were asked from whence proceeded ſo great a change in the Queens mind, I muſt freely anſwer, that I impute it to two things: The firſt is, That when we have extraordinary Obligations to any one, we are apt to dread their preſence, as if their ſight continually urged an acknowledgement, and condemn'd us of Ingratitude every moment that we delaid returning them. The other is, That her old love for Madam *de Chevreuſe* was worn out by little and little, by her new one; for the Cardinal, which was daily ſeen to increaſe, and which in a little time reach'd ſo far, that her Converſation with him, inſtead of an hour or two, now laſted all the Evening; ſo that the poor Biſhop of *Beauvais*, who was always uſed to take that time to entertain her, waited in another Room, and had ſcarcely time to ſay Grace to her, or to ſee her one minute after Supper. But nevertheleſs, to confirm in ſome manner what ſhe had ſaid, that ſhe would not favor all the Party, ſhe gave command that Monſieur *de Bontiller* ſhould quit the Finances. The Cardinal had not as yet fix'd his Anchor upon ſure ground enough, but

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that he was forced to yield to this ſtroak; and all he could obtain, was, that it might be done in a favorable manner, the Sur-Intendant himſelf asking leave to lay it down: it was given between Meſieurs *de Baillent*, and *d'Avaux*, to hinder the laſt from being in a capacity to take Monſieur *de Chavigny*'s Office, which the Cardinal endeavored himſelf to fulfil; and the reaſon why the firſt was put into that imployment, was to ſhew, that the Queen now intended to advance her old Servants, and to remove him from all pretentions to the Seal, for the Cardinal intended to keep the Chancellor ſtill in that, knowing that a titular Officer was much fitter to oppoſe Monſieur *de Chaſteauneuf*, than to have it in a Commiſſioners hand, as the Keeper of the Great Seal always is. To theſe Reaſons may be added, one that's yet more unknown, which is, that in putting in theſe two, the laſt being obliged to go Plenipotentiary to conclude the general Peace at *Munſter*, the Finances would remain wholly in the hands of the firſt, who by his inability would give way to Monſieur *d'Emery*, the new Controller-General, and faithful Dependant of the Cardinal, to act with

with full Authority as if he was himſelf Sur-Intendant. A little after this promotion, the Cardinal believing that he ſhould ſhew an extraordinary deference to the Queen, by endeavoring to acquire the Friendſhip of thoſe, whom ſhe had always believed her faithful Servants: He began with the Prince *de Marcillac*, as being the firſt that the Queen had openly proteſted to be kind to, he deſired his Friendſhip in the moſt civil and moſt preſſing terms imaginable, making him be told, That he begged he would wholly abandon him, when he perceived him purſuing any private Intereſt, either to procure Riches, Offices, or any other Advantage whatever, or had any intention to prejudice any Man of Quality. The Prince *de Marcillac* related to the Queen all that the Cardinal had told him, asking her what ſhe pleas'd to command him upon it, ſhe anſwer'd, That the greateſt pleaſure he could ever do her, was to receive him for his Friend; and ſpoke of him with ſuch an eſteem and eagerneſs, as plainly enough diſcover'd her Inclination: after which, the Prince *de Marcillac* had nothing more to conſult; but however, before he went to ſee him, he imparted

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all that had paſs'd to his particular Friends, and amongſt the reſt, was ſo obliging as to tell it me with all the Circumſtances: This began to make us look at home, and think of our ſelves, it hapning at the ſame time that Monſieur *de Chavigny* (according to his Fathers method) obtained leave to quit his Office, which was given to Monſieur *de Brienne*; and it was talked of his being ſent either to *Rome*, or into *Germany*, as a Man loſt for ever at Court. We believed, that the Cardinal then having no body whom he particularly loved in Councel, it would be eaſie to enter into League with him, and that for our Friendſhip he perhaps would willingly forſake the Chancellor. Having weighed this Deſign, the Biſhop of *Metz* (to whom he had alſo made Propoſitions of Friendſhip) went to the Queen, and after having ſpoken to her almoſt in the ſame manner, as the Prince *de Marcillac*, receiv'd the ſame anſwer, with only this addition, That upon the Overtures that the Cardinal had made him, ſhe conjur'd him to gain him as many Friends as was poſſible; the Biſhop of *Metz* having told all his Diſcourſe with the Queen to the Duke *de Ven-*

doſme, both the Duke and his Children deſired, that all their Friends might be informed of every thing that had paſſed, and for that reaſon deſired the Biſhop of *Metz*, the Duke *d'Eſpernon*, the Count *de Fieſque*, Monſieur *Beaupuy*, and my ſelf, to meet at their Houſe: *Campion*, who was then his menial Servant, was alſo at that Conference; Monſieur *Bethune*, and Monſieur *Montreſor*, having been their oldeſt and chiefeſt Friends, ought to have been ſent for, but I believe the Duke *de Vendoſme* did not deſire them, perhaps for the reaſon I have already ſaid, of *la Riviere* whom he would preſerve his Friend by the mediation of the Mareſchal *d'Eſtreé*. The Queens command cutting off all occaſions of farther differences. The Count *de Fieſque* took upon him to go, and tell the Cardinal from all the family of *Vendoſme*, the Bp. of *Metz*, and the D. *d'Eſpernon*, that they deſired his Friendſhip with all freeneſs and ſincerity, but that they deſir'd to have nothing to do with any body but himſelf, & for that reaſon they had not ſent to him till ſuch time that they ſaw Monſieur *de Chavigny* out of all buſineſs, and that the only mark that they asked of his kindneſs, was the Chancellors

lors ruine, whom the death of Monſieur *de Thou*, and his manner of proceeding in the buſineſs of the Hermits, and the tryal of the Duke *d'Eſpernon*, had made odious. The Cardinal, after he had aſſured them that he received the Propoſition they had made him with a great deal of Joy, and that he eſteemed their Friendſhip at the higheſt rate, anſwered, That he was obliged to them that they did not ſpeak to him of this, whil'ſt Monſieur *de Chavigny* had any part in the Miniſtry of Affairs, becauſe he could never have abandon'd him; but for the Chancellor, he was an infamous Man, and that at the Kings death he had renounced him, and conſequently cared not for him now; but if he put him out, he was not able to hinder Monſieur *de Chaſteauneuf*s entring into his place, whom he confeſs'd he could never endure in the Miniſtry.

This firſt Conference ended thus, but it furniſhed matter for many others, wherein the Count *de Fieſque* told the Cardinal, That the Gentlemen for whom he ſpoke, deſiring to enter into the Bonds of Friendſhip with him, would not begin to ſhock him in what appeared ſo

much his Intereſt, therefore they only asked of him, that whenſoever he could ſecure himſelf from Monſieur *de Chaſteauneuf*, he would remove the Chancellor: He made a difficulty to promiſe that he would remove him, and only ſaid at firſt, that he would abandon him, but at length he acquieſced: and did the ſame concerning the Duke *d'Anguien*: for having ſaid, That he deſired to live civilly with him, and that he had no deſign to break off, he received no anſwer, when the Count *de Fieſque* told him, That thoſe Gentlemen making choice of him for their chief Friend, deſired a preference in his mind before all their Competitors. This Treaty laſted five or ſix days, becauſe on one ſide the Cardinal ſhew'd now an ardent deſire of their Friendſhips; and then a little after appear'd cooler in it, ſpeaking with greater reſervedneſs. And on the other ſide, the Duke *de Beaufort* would have been willing, before they came to a concluſion, to have ſeen *Campion* return'd, whom he had ſent to meet Madam *de Chevreuſe*, who was then juſt come to *France*, and with whom his Father the Duke *d'Eſpernon*, and himſelf, were in a moſt ſtrict League: And

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as it was neceſſary that the Count *de Fieſque* ſhould give them from time to time an account of his Negotiation, and be inſtructed what they would have him ſay, we met, during that time, five or ſix times, either at the Duke *de Vendoſm*'s, or the Duke *d'Eſpernons*, or at the Biſhop of *Metz*, or at the *Capucins*, or elſe at my Houſe: And although in all thoſe Meetings there almoſt nothing paſs'd but only to obey the Queen, nevertheleſs they have ſince endeavor'd to repreſent it as a Crime, and the Plottings of a Seditious Cabal, though the Cardinal cannot deny but that the Count *de Fieſque* daily told him whatſoever was reſolved amongſt us. In five or ſix days *Campion* return'd, who informed us, That Madam *de Chevreuſe* had receiv'd Letters from the Queen before ſhe left *Flanders*, wherein her Majeſty ſeem'd to deſire, that there might be a right underſtanding between the Cardinal and Her, and that ſhe came prepar'd to do it, and adviſ'd all thoſe Gentlemen to the ſame; upon which, they immediatly reſolved, and went the very next day to viſit him, with whom they had then reaſon to be ſatisfied, having been received with the greateſt Civility that could be

expreſs'd. Perhaps many will wonder, that having always been in the ſame Intereſt with thoſe Gentlemen, I was not alſo comprehended in the Treaty; but the reaſon was, I did not deſire it, for that being in an Office that depended only upon the Queen, I would act in nothing without Her order; which was the anſwer I made to the Duke *de Beaufort* when he ſpoke to me of it, and I know not if he ſaid any thing to the Queen concerning it or no: But two or three days after, as I received Orders from her, ſhe told me, I knew that the Duke *de Vendoſme*, and his Sons, had ſeen Cardinal *Mazarin*; I anſwered her, Yes, but with a tone of voice, and in a particular way of ſpeaking, whereby I endeavored to let her know, that it was my Opinion that that would be no advantage to me; whereupon ſhe continued that ſhe believed him true to her Intereſt, therefore ſhe deſired all thoſe that were ſo, to live well with him: I anſwered, That I moſt humbly beſeeched Her Majeſty to remember, That I left him only when I concluded him an Enemy to Her Intereſt: That's true (ſaid ſhe:) And now, Madam, (I reply'd) I am ſtill all Obedience to whatſoever

you

your Majeſty commands me. Taking my leave thereupon, with deſign to make him a viſit the next day; 'tis true, that before I went any farther, I was willing to ſee Monſieur *de Bethune*, and Monſieur *de Montreſor*, whom I found extreamly netled, that an Agreement had been made without them; and though the Duke *de Beaufort* acquainted them with it before they ſaw the Cardinal; they believed ſtill that there was more due to their ancient Friendſhip, than ſimply to render them an account of what was already reſolved of: But they took it moſt ill of the Duke *de Vendoſme*, and particularly Monſieur *de Montreſor*, who remembred, that when he left *England* he had promiſed him his Friendſhip, giving him alſo all aſſurance to ſerve him towards Monſieur, which he performed ſo ill, that *la Riviere* was one of the firſt Men with whom he endeavor'd to engage himſelf, the remembrance of which was a little hard to him, chiefly at that time; for at his return from *England*, Monſieur preſſing him again to live kindly with *la Riviere*, and imploying Monſieur *de Bellegarde* upon that ſubject, tho without any effect, Monſieur *de Montreſor* perſiſting ſtill in ſaying, that

he looked upon *la Riviere* as the ſame Man that Monſieur had formerly painted him, which was a Rogue and a Traytor; His Royal Highneſs lived with him afterwards in another manner than he had done, uſing him with the greateſt indifference that could be, which made him reſolve at length to ſell his place, and to retire himſelf wholly from Court, which he did in a little time after. When I had told them what concerned my ſelf (which they approved, as being an effect of my obedience to Her whom I had wholly dedicated my ſelf to without reſerve) after I had been at *Mont-rouge* to acquaint Monſieur *de Chaſteauneuf* of it, who was alſo of the ſame Opinion, I went to the Cardinal, whom I found juſt coming down ſtairs, with ſome Ladies, going from thence to Councel; ſo that the firſt time I could not have much Diſcourſe with him, but what he did ſay to me was very civil and obliging, ſo far as to make an excuſe that he could not go up ſtairs again to entertain me: The next day I went again, and finding him in his Chamber with very few People with him, I made him a Complement whereof he has ſince very much complain'd,

and

and declar'd, That I told him that I only came to ſee him by the Queens order, though my words ſignified quite another thing: I know, that when the Prince *de Macellac* went to ſee him, that the Queen had ſpoken to him concerning him, I believed ſhe might have done the for me; therefore after having aſſured him of my reſpect and ſervice, I told him I hoped that he would do me the honor eaſily to believe what I proteſted to him, ſince he knew that for a long time I had profeſt being his moſt obedient Servant, but that if any thing could be added to the Inclination I had always to do him honor, it would be without doubt, the Truſt and the Eſteem the Queen ſhew'd him, which would oblige all thoſe who were wholly hers, and particularly my ſelf, to reſpect him yet more: I alſo beſeeched him to think, that whenſoever the Queen ſhould command me any thing relating to that, I would not only execute it with that blind Obedience I ow to all her Orders, but alſo with extream Joy and Satisfaction: I leave it to be judged, if this Diſcourſe can reaſonably receive that ſenſe which he gave it; and if this be a juſt foundation for thoſe Miſchiefs that

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he has ſince done me, and began the very next day: for the Mareſchal *de Baſſompiere* going to ſee him, he ſpoke to him of me in ſuch a manner, as ſhew'd plain enough he had no great love for me, and endeavored to put it into his mind to re-enter into his Office, which the Mareſchal let me know the very next day, by two or three people. This News ſurpriſed me a little, and deſiring to know the bottom of it, I went to Monſieur *Liancour*, and deſired him to ſpeak to him for me, which he did immediatly, with that goodneſs which he hath always ſhewn in my Concerns; and having only told him, that he had been inform'd that he was diſ-ſatisfied with me, He made as if he knew nothing of it, and without diſcovering any diſpleaſure at me, ſaid, That after I had a long time left off viſiting him, I came again and told him, That it was by the Queens Order, but now he aſſur'd him, that if I would be his Friend, he would be mine; Monſieur *de Liancour* having anſwer'd, That he might confide in me, put an end to the Diſcourſe; and having afterwards given me a relation of it, I believed that this little diſſatisfaction was paſt, and that I might be good Friends with him again.

During

During this, Madam *de Chevreuſe* was arriv'd, and went down directly to the *Louvre*; but if the Queen was impatient to ſee her, ſhe was much more ſo to ſend her to *Dampierre*; for immediatly after the firſt Salutations were paſs'd, ſhe told Her, That the Allies of *France* might grow jealous, if immediatly after her return from *Flanders*, they knew that ſhe was near Her, and that for this reaſon ſhe muſt take a ſhort Journy into the Country. Madam *de Chevreuſe*, for all ſhe was ſurpris'd, anſwered her without any concern, That ſhe was ready to obey her, but beſeeched her to conſider, That all *Europe* knew ſhe had been perſecuted for her extraordinary love to Her Majeſty; and that it might perhaps reflect upon her ſelf if ſhe ſent her away ſo ſuddenly, and deſired that ſhe would be pleaſed to ask the Cardinals advice in it, who being in the Cloſet, and ſent for in, told the Queen, That Madam *de Chevreuſe* had reaſon, and that her Majeſty would be too blame if ſhe ſhould uſe her ſo. Thus Madam *de Chevreuſe* fenc'd off this firſt aſſault, which might well have let her ſee, That ſhe had not that power in the Queens Breaſt, ſhe once had: but if ſhe perceiv'd it, ſhe hid it at leaſt from her moſt intimate

Friends,

Friends, and imparted this Adventure to no Body till a long time after: In this, following the humor of all thoſe that pretend to favor who will never diſcover that they are declining in their Princes affection. Nevertheleſs, the Cardinal did not think her intirely ruin'd, nor abſolutely uſeleſs to his Advancement, for the next day he went to viſit her, and for the firſt Complement, told her, That he knew that the Aſſignations of the Exchequer came ſlowly, and that ſhe having been ſo long a Journy, might perhaps want mony, therefore he came to offer and bring her Fifty thouſand Crowns; but becauſe he knew alſo that an Ambitious Soul, like hers, would not be ſo much moved with theſe fair Offers as with Actions, he asked her a few days after, What he might do to gain her Friendſhip, proteſting, That he would ſpare nothing that might procure it. She preſently put him upon a fair Tryal, asking him two things of very great Importance: One, that the Duke *de Vendoſme* might be ſatisfied for his pretentions to the Government of *Bretayne*, for which he had as yet nothing but fair Words: And the other, That the Duke *d'Eſpernon* might be reſtored

to

to his Place and Government. He proceeded in both theſe very obligingly: For as to the firſt, Monſieur *de Brienne* had immediately a Commiſſion to treat with the Duke *de Vendôme*, and in the Queens name to promiſe him the Admiralty, which they ſent to the Duke *de Brezé* to give a Reſignation of: And as to the ſecond, the Duke *d'Eſpernon* was immediately after reſtored to his Honors, and neither pains nor coſt was ſpared to draw the Count *d'Harcourt* from *Guienne*. After theſe two firſt Affairs, ſhe put him to a third, to which he would ſcarce conſent, yet did at laſt, though it took no effect; it was to procure the Prince *de Marcillac* the Government of *Havre*: To this he Remonſtrated to her, how much he ow'd to the Memory of the deceaſed Cardinal, and that it would be unjuſt in him to become an Inſtrument of injuring his Heirs: But ſhe ſtill inſiſting upon it, he at laſt yielded. After ſuch great Tryals, ſhe thought nothing would be impoſſible for her with him, and at laſt propos'd to him the Re-eſtabliſhment of Monſieur *de Chaſteauneuf*: but this being his moſt ſenſible and neareſt concern, he could not diſſemble, and flatly reply'd to her,

That

That he would never give his conſent to it, and from that moment broke off with her, excepting ſome few Civilities which ſince paſs'd, there was never after any ſincere Intelligence or Friendſhip betwixt them. Monſieur *de Chaſteauneuf* had now been a long time at *Montrouge*, having arrived there at the ſame time that Madam *de Chevreuſe* came to *Paris*: and it may be, if he had immediatly come to the Court without capitulating with the Queen, he might have engag'd her by this freedom not to have abandon'd him, whereas becauſe he follow'd the example of Madam *de Senécey*, who would not enter into *Paris* till ſhe was re-eſtabliſh'd in her Place, he gave the Queen time to accuſtom her ſelf to know that he was near *Paris*, without deſiring his preſence, and conſider'd not that Madam *de Senécey* had only a Perſon whom the Queen had no affection for to oppoſe her, whereas he (beſides the whole Family of Monſieur *le Prince* who were againſt his return) gave the chief Miniſter reaſon to be jealous, and could not gain but by Addreſs, and by little and little, what that Honorable Lady did at the firſt ſtep: But without doubt, he was deceiv'd by the belief that the

the Queen had a mighty Inclination for him; and 'twas by this alſo that the Biſhop *de Beauvais* loſt himſelf inſenſibly, and that, after having poſſeſſed the firſt Place, and been nominated for a Cardinalſhip, a private Countermand was ſent to *Rome*, and he left in the Anti-Chamber, whil'ſt the Queen quietly entertain'd the Cardinal, whoſe Wit ſhe did not much eſteem at firſt, and ſaid, That he was not a Man knowing in Buſineſs, ſince he underſtood not the Regale, nor the Finances, qualifications indeed very neceſſary in a great Miniſter. Thus all our Affairs began to decline, and as to what concerns me, Monſieur *de Tellier*, following the ſteps of Monſieur *de Noyers* his Predeceſſor, from that time began to thwart me in my Charge, and deſiring to appropriate to himſelf the Authority of appointing Commiſſaries for Muſtering of the *Suiſſes*, deſigned to take from me by little and little, what the Queen had given me in groſs by ſuppreſſing the charge of the Iſle: Yet at firſt, he took a method which gave me occaſion to think that his Deſign was rather againſt the Marſhals of *France*, than againſt me; and by the Civilities he did me, kept me for ſome time

time under this miſtake; but at laſt, when I ſaw that all theſe fine words came to nothing, and that they did but defer to reſolve upon what I asked from day to day, I perceiv'd that theſe ſhifting tricks came from another Principle, and that the Cardinal had as great a hand in them, as in delaying to conclude Monſieur *de Vendoſme*'s buſineſs, wherein they every day raiſed a thouſand Obſtacles to hinder the Execution of what was promis'd him: 'Tis true, he himſelf contributed much to his own unhappineſs, for he made a difficulty of taking the Admiralty without the Anchorage, and conſidered not that he ſhould have enter'd upon the Office at any rate, it being eaſie for him afterwards to extend his Rights: In the mean time, his unſteady and confuſed way of carrying on his buſineſs, gave opportunity enough to do him ill turns. Sometimes he addreſſed himſelf to the Cardinal, and declared, That he would owe to him the Obligation of what they did for him; in a moment after, he ſought an opportunity of getting Marſhal *d'Eſtrées* to ſpeak to *la Riviere*, and conjure him to make his Affair ſucceed; and after that, attempted by oblique ways to engage Monſieur *le*

Prince

Prince to ſerve him. In fine, there did not an hour paſs over his head wherein he did not more then once change his Opinion and Party: Nor did he only change from this ſide to the other, but would have alſo plaid the ſame tricks with Monſieur *de Beaufort*, who for his part having particular Deſigns, and intermixing his moſt important Affairs with trifles, lived in ſo fantaſtical a manner with the Cardinal, that it was impoſſible for him to repoſe any aſſurance in him; not that I believe he ever harbored in his Breaſt any ſuch Deſigns as were laid to his charge; only his entertainments of the Cardinal were either full of coldneſs, or civility, according to the humors of thoſe Ladies, Madam *de Chevreuſe*, and Madam *de Montbazon*, inſomuch that if he gave him occaſion to be ſatisfied with him one day, he diſoblig'd him as much the next, ſaying, That he only came to ſee him by his Fathers order. If in the condition he is in, I had a mind to complain of him, I ſhould have ſome reaſon to do ſo, it being very true that at this time, though he did me the honor to dine at my Houſe often, and paſs the greateſt part of the Afternoons with me, yet he imparted to me very

little of his Conduct: And I dare ſay, (though I am not the greateſt Politician in the Kingdom) that if he would have opened himſelf more freely to me, he had never been embarraſs'd in that unlucky and ſhameful Intrigue of Madam *de Longueville*'s Letters, which happened about this time, and into which his Love for Madam *de Montbazon* hurried him, without conſidering the bottom of the thing, and imputing the Malice to thoſe who could not poſſibly be guilty.

I can ſay further, That to take this Affair right, nothing at all of it is to be believed, I never enquir'd into the thing to get more knowledge of it: But if Monſieur *de Beaufort* had ſpoke to me of it at the beginning, I would have adviſed him without examining the falſhood or truth thereof, to have given the Letters into Madam *de Longueville*'s hands; and I think that this ſervice done to a perſon who was once paſſionately belov'd, and who is even yet as much hated, is a very ſenſible reproach, and the moſt honeſt and glorious Revenge that could be taken. But he ſuffer'd himſelf to be carried away with anothers Paſſion, and by the breaking out of this curſed Quarrel,

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abſolutely threw himſelf upon a Precipice. From that time there was little familiarity betwixt Monſieur *d'Anguien* and him; and beſides the remembrance of what paſs'd in the Quarrel of the *Grand-Maiſtre*, and the report that this Prince had ask'd to have his Brother-in-law, the Duke *de Brezè*, protected in his charge, he gave an anſwer to a Letter (which Monſieur *de Beaufort* wrote to him upon the Birth of his Son) wherein he treated him rudely, and in a kind of revenge, which his little Pride prompted him to, only ſubſcrib'd himſelf, *Your moſt humble, and affectionate Servant.* But though theſe little peeks betwixt two ſuch haughty and ambitious Minds, were enough to carry them to extreams, yet they might have been qualifi'd with ſome moderation; whereas after an Affair, which directly wounded their Honor, there was no way left for a Reconcilement. I confeſs, I ſpeak not upon this ſubject with a cold heart, and that of all that has paſs'd ſince the Kings Death, this is the only thing I look back upon with regret, and would ſay with ſome ſort of Repentance, if I did not find an infinite number of Reaſons that forced me to take that ſide which I did.

Thoſe which ought to have diſſwaded me, were firſt of all Intereſt; almoſt all my Eſtate lay in *le Berry*, and under the Government of Monſieur *le Prince*. I ſaw the Duke *de Anguien* likely to return to Court within a little while, having augmented the glory of his Victory at *Rocroy*, by the taking of *Thienville*, which was judged impregnable; and that after ſuch Services, it was hard to believe that the Queen would favor any other Party than his. The Duke *de Longueville* had always dealt very obligingly with me, and there were few that he ſpoke to with more confidence. In fine, it was to be obſerv'd, that I had the honor to be nearly related to Madam *la Princeſs*, whom I ſhould mortally offend, if I offer'd my Service to Madam *de Montbazon*, my relation to whom was further off, and leſs Honorable: But alſo very ſtrong conſiderations invited me to the other ſide, almoſt all my Friends were embark'd in it, and above all Monſieur *de Guiſe*, who careſs'd me extraordinarily at his return into *France*, and ſeem'd to chooſe me for his principal Friend: I had the Honor to be nearer him than any of his Quality; I had all along dearly loved and very much honor'd him, and

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was the firſt Author of the ſtrait Union betwixt Monſieur *de Beaufort* and him which ſeemed to be one of the principal cauſes that put him upon this Intrigue: I believ'd, that the Womens Quarrel would certainly breed one among'ſt the Men, and reſolved not to embrace one Party to acquit it again the next day. But to ſpeak freely, the moſt eſſential reaſon that made me declare, was, That I knew, whatever Careſſes the Cardinal made me, he had no kindneſs at all for me, and thought that I muſt of neceſſity get ſome other ſupport near the Queen. I knew very well, if I ſhould hope for one in Monſieur *le Prince*, that he would not diſpleaſe the firſt Miniſter for me, if in Monſieur, *la Riviere*, the mortal Enemy of my Friends, was an invincible Obſtacle; ſo that I ſaw none but Madam *de Chevreuſe*, who hiding her Diſgrace the beſt that ſhe could, and continuing her ancient familiarity with the Queen, ſeem'd to me to be yet in a condition to protect me. Being joyn'd in Intereſt with her common Friends, I had in a little time gain'd a great deal of Freedom, and receiv'd from her Aſſurances to ſerve me upon all occcaſions: But I had a mind to oblige her to it with ſomething more extraordi-

nary, knowing well, That ſhe being Vain and Ambitious, would be touched therewith, and told her, That 'twas ſhe I had chiefly reſpect to, when I rank'd my ſelf on Madam *de Montbazons* Party; which ſhe receiv'd as well as I could wiſh, and promis'd me all the aſſiſtance imaginable.

I will ſay nothing of all that afterwards paſs'd in this Affair, becauſe it was ſo publick that no body can be ignorant of it, only, that if the Opinion of Monſieur *de Longueville* had been followed, it had ſtifled all. But Madam *la Princeſs* following the heat of her Natural Temper, and finding an opportunity of ſatisfying her old Animoſities, carried it to the utmoſt extremity, to which I know not whether ſhe was puſh'd on by the Cardinal, who look'd upon our Party as form'd againſt him, and thought it not ſo much deſign'd againſt Monſieur *le Prince*, as againſt his Authority, which increaſed every day. At the *Hotel de* Madam *de Chevreuſe* there was a meeting of fourteen Princes, at which I was not preſent, and would have been ſorry to have been ſo, thinking it very uſeleſs and impertinent. Two days after, the *Amende* Honorable which Madam *de Mont-*

Moutbazon, was to undergo at the *Hotel de Condè*; the Queen being in the Circle, call'd me to her, and ſaid, That ſhe believed I did not know that the Officers of the Kings Houſe ſhould ſtrike in with no party in the Quarrels at Court, becauſe they ought to ſtay for her Orders: I anſwer'd, That I did not know it, but that whatever Party I ſhould take, it could not prejudice the Obedience I would always pay to Her Commands. She reply'd, That this by rendring me ſuſpected by one of the Parties, would make me uncapable of following her Orders; and ending her Diſcourſe, ſignified unto me, That I ſhould once more ſtand Neuter. The day following I was to ſee the Cardinal, who having received me with an appearance of more freedom then before, told me, That the Queen had acquainted him with what She had ſaid to me, and having inform'd my ſelf what might be alledg'd thereupon, I anſwered, That ſince the Queen diſapprov'd my Action, I for ever ſtood corrected; but if I had fail'd in my duty, my fault was not without preſident, and upon this inſtanced in the late Duke *d'Eſpernon*, in the Quarrel betwixt Monſieur *le Count* and Monſieur

de

de Guiſe. He told me, That the Queen had great reaſon to deſire it ſhould not be ſo any more, and adviſed me, as my Friend, punctually to obey her Majeſty. After this I made him two or three Viſits, wherein he treated me ſo kindly, that I believed he would not be unwilling to oblige me in my Concerns, ſince he was pleaſed to ſerve one of my Kinſmen upon my recommendation, therefore I ſpoke to him of the difference betwixt Monſieur *le Tellier* and my ſelf; and in a Memoir which I gave him, explained the thing to him very clearly; adding when I left him, That it was the moſt important Affair he could oblige me in. His Anſwers were civil and affectionate, but the next time I ſpoke to him of it, I found him much more cold, and he made me a long Diſcourſe, to ſhew me, That what I ask'd of him was much againſt the Kings Service, and concluded with telling me, That as to my own Intereſt I muſt be ſatisfied, and not attempt to preſerve a right which had too great a Conſequence: I reply'd, That my Predeceſſors in the Office had enjoy'd it, and as for my ſelf, all thoſe who knew me, knew that Riches and Intereſt influenc'd me very little, and that

that Honor alone was that which actuated me, and which I ſought for in the Affair wherewith I entertain'd him. I queſtion whether this ſo frank a Declaration of my Humor pleas'd him, but I know that he left me without giving me any great hopes. On this or the day following, happen'd the laſt ſtroak of Madam *de Monbazon*'s diſgrace at *Renard*, I came not thither till the Queen was coming out, and was extreamly ſurpris'd and troubled at the diſorder. Monſieur *de Mets* is witneſs of what I ſaid to Madam *de Monbazon*, and how much I blam'd her for having made the Affair of Madam *la Princeſs* become the Queens. In the mean time, the Queen the day after did me the Honor to reckon me amongſt the Councellors of this Fair diſgraced, and declared, That what ſhe ſpoke before Madam *la Princeſs* againſt thoſe who advis'd her to ſtay in *Renerds* Lodgings, were particularly addreſs'd to me. I was immediatly advertis'd of it, but knowing my ſelf to be entirely Innocent, I thought that I ought not to make Excuſes, and believ'd I could not come to a clear underſtanding, without ſpeaking in ſome ſort againſt the exil'd, which was contra-

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y to my humor. In the mean time I perceiv'd that my Affair was protracted for one of theſe two ends, either to make me ſwerve from my Duty, or do ſome fooliſh Action, or at leaſt to make the *Suiſſes* grow impatient by the delay, and diſcredit me with them: So that I thought I ought ſpeedily to ſee an end of it, and went to Madam *de Chevreuſe*, whom I acquainted how things ſtood: I came not to deſire her to ſpeak for me, knowing well, that ſhe had her hands full of more important Concerns, but only to tell her, That I muſt be preſſing and urgent in the buſineſs, and that before I did it, I was willing to give her an account thereof: She called *Campion* to make a third in our Conference, and anſwer'd me, That if I could but have patience for eight days, ſhe believed in that time ſhe could do my buſineſs effectually; but ſince I could not defer it, that I muſt ſeek a ſupport elſewhere, and only continue to be ſtill her Friend. I believe this Diſcourſe went no further then us three; but I know very well, that when I went the day following to ſpeak with the Cardinal, he ſhew'd very little inclination to favor me, and after many Difficulties (though I aſſur'd him I deſir'd

to

to owe the Obligation to him) he told me, That he was not the only one in the Council, and that I muſt ſpeak to others: by this I judged that my Affair was loſt: but finding no other way to come off, and ſeeing that Monſieur *Tellier* had obtained a Grant of what he deſired againſt me, I was reſolved to ſpeak to his Royal Highneſs, and to the reſt of the Council; but during this time, the procedure of my Friends ruin'd all as faſt as I could build. The Duke *de Beauford*, either out of Love or Pride, ſhew'd himſelf infinitely vex'd at the Exile of Madam *de Montbazon*; and when the Queen would have ſpoke to him, he flung away in ſuch a diſdainful manner, that this alone was enough to have deſtroyed all the Friendſhip ſhe could have had for him: I perceiv'd it one Evening, and reproach'd him for acting ſo like a Child, but inſtead of returning me Reaſons, he anſwer'd me only with very imprudent tranſports of Paſſion and Fury. As he had leſs buſineſs than ordinary, he came very often to ſeek for me; and though I ſaw him in an ill poſture, yet out of Friendſhip and Honor, I would not quite forſake him: 'Tis true, I ſaw him not ſo frequently in the Evening, and I queſtion

queſtion whether he ſtaid at Night in *Paris*. Monſieur *de Vendoſme*, ſeeing that he could not finiſh his concern, importun'd him every day to reconcile himſelf to the Cardinal, but not being able to prevail with him in this, he thought he muſt of neceſſity ſtrike in with *la Riviere*. Therefore he preſs'd him more than ever by Marſhal *d'Eſtres*, and offer'd him the Friendſhip of Monſieur *de Beaufort*. *La Riviere* liſten'd to this propoſition with a great deal of joy, and having appointed a Meeting at the ſame Marſhal *d'Eſtrées*, he was ſurprized to ſee there only Monſieur *de Mercœur* his Father, and none of Monſieur *de Beaufort*; from that time he look'd upon him as one that was not to be truſted, and tho Monſieur *de Vendoſme* aſſur'd him, that he would bring his Son to him as ſoon as might be, and alledg'd to him ſome obſtacle which hinder'd him from coming, yet he would not enter upon the ſubject; and having civilly taken his leave, the next day reconciled himſelf to the Cardinal, betwixt whom till that time there was not a good underſtanding. Monſieur *le* Prince made a third in this Aſſociation, the firſt Article whereof, (I believe) was the ruine

of

of Monſieur *de Beaufort*. And, *de facto*, two days after, when the Queen went to the *Bois de Vincennes* to an entertainment at Monſieur *de Chavigny*'s, he was there, and found but an ill reception. I know not whether this piqu'd him, but he preſently came back to *Paris*, and going to the *Louvre* to wait Her Majeſties return, found the Cardinal there, whom (as 'twas ſaid) he ask'd ſome Queſtions, whether he was going out or no, which allarm'd him. Soon after he had notice given him, that there were ſome Horſemen upon the *Quay*, who ſeem'd to wait there for ſomething; after this, he no longer doubted, but that they intended to Aſſaſſin him; he cry'd out of it highly, and ſent to ſeek for all the ſtout Men he could get to Guard him. Monſieur *de Metz* told me this news the day after, and going to *Luxemburg*, I found Monſieur *de Guiſe* there, whom I apprehended to have ſeen embroyl'd in this miſchievous diſorder, but I found that he knew nothing of it. We both of us waited the return of Monſieur, who ſpoke very moderately of the thing; but *la Riviere* aggravated it highly, and ſaid, that it belong'd to his Royal Highneſſes Authority to preſerve the Miniſters

in

in ſafety. I would fain have ſeen Monſieur *de Beaufort*, but he was gone into the Country to ſee his Father, and return'd not before Night, which compleated his ruine: for it may be, if he had gon to the Cardinal, he might have cleared himſelf, and ſo have prevented his Arreſt. He was adviſed to go away to *Anet* for ſome days, but he confided ſo much in the Queens favor to him, that he would needs come ſtraight to the *Louvre*. As to my ſelf, I went to the Cardinals after dinner, to aſſure him of my ſervice, and offer'd to bring a File of *Swiſſes* to accompany him: He receiv'd me very civilly (though he refuſed my offer) pretending to believe that the report was falſe, though I ſaw in him the Face and Countenance of a Man very much aſtoniſh'd. In the Evening as I was going into the *Louvre*, I heard the news of the Duke *de Beaufort*'s being taken, the knowledge I had of my Innocence, made me go up ſtairs without doubting any thing. In the Queens Guard-Chamber I found the Cardinal, who was going out accompanied with three hundred Gentlemen; he ſaluted me very civilly, but of all his Train only *Noailles*, *Piennes*, and *Megrin*, would know or accoſt

coſt me. In the Queens little Cabinet I met with Madam *de Chevreuſe*, whom I entertain'd a pretty while; and having often ask'd if I could not ſee this poor Prince, and being told by *Guiteau* himſelf that I could not. I was going away, when the Queen ſent for me into her little Chamber, and commanded me to bring two Companies of *Swiſſes* by ſix of the Clock the next Morning before the *Louvre*: That Night I could not ſee any of the *Hôtel de Vendoſme*, but the day after I went thither to mix my Sighs with thoſe of this afflicted Houſe, and heard by the Duke *de Vendoſme* (to whom Monſieur had imparted ſomthing of it) a confirmation of what Monſieur *de Guiſe* had told me the Night before, that I was of the number of thoſe that were to be removed from Court. This Report did not trouble me much, and I know not by what Preſage of my unhappineſs, I wiſh'd my Baniſhment more than I fear'd it. From thence I went to hear the News at Monſieur *de Bethuny* and *Montreſor*'s Houſe, who were threatned with the ſame accident, and an hour after received the Command in my preſence: It was not becauſe they were in ſo ſtrict a League at that time with Monſieur

ſieur *de Beaufort* that they did ſhare in his diſgrace, but becauſe *la Riviere* would never promiſe the Cardinal to make his Maſter conſent to the Arreſting of this poor Prince, unleſs he would aſſure him at the ſame time to baniſh his two Enemies; and I believe Monſieur himſelf contributed thereto on his own accord, being inveterately incenſed againſt Monſieur *de Montreſor*, becauſe he had quitted him: and not forgetting alſo, that all he could ſay himſelf, or cauſed to be ſaid in his name to the Count *de Bethune* the Winter before, to reconcile him to *la Riviere*, was to no purpoſe, and that he was forc'd to procure the expreſs command of the King to effect it. The ſame day they order'd Monſieur *de Chaſteauneuf*, *de Mont Ronge*, to leave the Court, and *St. Ibar* alſo had Orders to retire. This was the reward for the Services *Beringhen* did the Cardinal, who deliver-ed him from a Man who ſpoke of him every where with the greateſt contempt imaginable. For my part, I believed the number of the proſcribed would encreaſe every day: but in fine, after Dinner ſome came to aſſure me, that I had been certainly Shipwrack'd, if the protection of Monſieur had not preſerv'd

me.

me. I could ſcare comprehend, that he whom I had never ſerv'd, ſhould ſhield me from ſuch misfortunes, which She, to whom I had ſo faithfully devoted my ſelf, had prepared for me. Notwithſtanding, this News being confirm'd to me in three or four places, and alſo in the *Hôtel de Guiſe*, I thought my ſelf oblig'd to go and thank him. That Evening I being at the *Louvre*, the Queen would not look upon me, which I did not wonder at, ſince my beſt Friends were ſo lately diſgrac'd: But I was very much ſurprized, when the next day, after I had been to take my leave of Monſieur *de Vendoſme* (whom they had commanded away, though very ſick) I went to *Luxembourg*, and having [illegible] his Royal Highneſs the Cor[illegible], 'twas ſaid, ow'd him for the good [illegible] a very cold Anhe did me, I re[illegible]contain'd a diſavowal ſwer, which [illegible]s publickly talk'd he had of wh[illegible]en in my favor. I begun from [illegible]t day to do the office of my Charge as I us'd to do; and the next day, in vain, endeavored to ſee the Cardinal who had taken Phyſick: I came again the day after, and found a very cold reception, he never ſpake to me but as to

a third Perſon, and as if he had addreſſed himſelf to all the company as well as to me. I made this firſt Viſit very ſhort, and going again thither twice or thrice the Week following, he made me very grave bows, but gave me not a word: By this I judged my Affairs in a very ill condition, but I no longer doubted that they were intirely ruin'd, when I heard that Monſieur had in the Cardinals preſence derided the thanks I gave him, and declared publickly, That he had deny'd he ever did me that ſervice. I owe this Advertiſement to the Duke *de Longueville*, who for all the paſs'd differences did me the honor to continue my Friend, and offer'd to ſerve me after the Duke *de Beaufort* was taken. I made no queſtion but *la Riviere* help'd in this Rencounter, and deſired Monſieur *de Brienne* (whom I acquainted with the whole thing) to tell it to the Queen, and teſtifie to her, That my not to ſeek any other protection was Hers, and conjur'd him to enter further into the matter, if he found convenient; which he did, and was anſwered by her Majeſty, That ſhe thought me too much a Man of Honor, to have intermedled in the Conſpiracy which

was

was imputed to the Duke *de Beaufort*; but withal, that I had been a little imprudent in my Conduct. Finding not much diſpleaſure in this Anſwer, I believed that if I ſpoke to Her my ſelf, ſhe would, it may be, open her mind more freely, therefore I took an opportunity, at a time which ſhe appointed, and having again confirm'd what Monſieur *de Brienne* had ſpoken as from me, ſhe only told me coldly, that ſhe believed it, and went her way. I was adviſed to be diligent in ſeeing her every hour, which I did with all the aſſiduity poſſible; and at the ſame time Monſieur *de Liancour* being come to *Paris*, I deſired him to tell the Cardinal, That I reſented the Captivity of the Duke *de Beaufort* with infinite ſorrow; that it was without murmuring, and without loſing the reſpect I ow'd him, and deſir'd him to look upon me as a Man that was careful of his Office, and nothing more: His Anſwer was, That I had refuſed to be his Friend, and that all he could do in generoſity, was not to do me any hurt. In the interim, I obſerv'd that Marſhal *de Baſompiers* (who till then teſtified to me a great deal of Friendſhip, and came to dine with me but eight days before)

avoided me, and never ſpoke to me but in fear. One Evening, in the Queens little Cloſet he gave me warning to look to my ſelf, and told me of the diſgrace of Biſhop *de Beauvais*, with whom they made Monſieur *le* Prince quarrel without any occaſion, that they might have a pretence to remove him: He told me it in general and in a few words, afterwards he withdrew, and would not ſpeak to me any more, as if he feared leſt ſome body ſhould ſee us converſe together. One day after this, meeting with one of my Friends, he began to blame my Conduct, and amongſt other things to accuſe me for ſeeing Madam *de Chevereuſe* ſo often. 'Tis true, that having call'd my ſelf her Servant before her fall, I did not avoid ſeeing her, when the unhappineſs of the Duke *de Beaufort* advanc'd hers; and going very often (as I ſaid) to the *Louvre*, which was near her Lodgings, I went thither to wait till the Queen had done Prayers, and till Supper-time; but my Viſits were not particular, and Monſieur *de Guiſe* and *de Retz*, with twenty other, went thither at the ſame time. I was alſo one of the firſt that adviſed her to endeavor her reconciliation with the Cardinal,

dinal, and confirm'd her in the Deſign of employing Monſieur *de Liancour* to that end, who ſerv'd her in it with a great deal of Zeal, but without any Fruit: the Cardinal complaining that ſhe had broke her word with him, and ſaying, That ſhe knew very well what was agreed upon betwixt the Queen and her; we know not what it was, becauſe ſhe conceal'd her diſgrace to the laſt: But in fine, we heard the very Evening that the Duke *de Beaufort* was taken into Cuſtody, ſhe offer'd to do, without repugnancy, whatſoever the Queen would command her: Her Majeſty told her, That ſhe believed her innocent of the Priſoners Deſigns, yet ſhe thought it convenient, that ſhe ſhould without any noiſe retire to *Dampiere*, and after having ſtayed there awhile, go into *Touraine*. After this Evening ſhe was never but once at the *Louvre*, and had not ſtaid ſo long at *Paris*, if ſhe had not thought to have gotten ſome Mony (which was promis'd her) before her departure.

Every day there came Emiſſaries from the Queen and the Cardinal to ſollicit her to go; and amongſt others, *Montague* being come one day to ſpeak to

her, ſhe ask'd him if it was true, that they intended to remove a great many more, and appear'd moſt curious to know if they would take my Place from me, declaring, That ſhe was extreamly ſorry for me, and ſhar'd in my unhappineſs. This queſtion being reported to the Cardinal, was the laſt ſtroak of my ruine, and from the very next day the Queen told Marſhal *de Baſompiere*, that ſhe would give him the Place, which he at firſt refus'd, as I am told.

This report being ſpread about the City, came to my ears, and made me deſire Monſieur *de Liancour* to try the Cardinal once more: He told me, that without my ſollicitation, he had ſpoke to him of me very often, and had receiv'd no ſatisfaction, ſo that he judg'd it neceſſary to have ſome other to help him to begin this Diſcourſe again. The Commander of *Souvrè* promis'd to do me this office, and both of them having taken their opportunity in the Evening, found him ſo very angry that he would ſcarce hear them, though he ſtill aſſur'd them that he would do me no hurt. This laſt Eſſay being ineffective, I thought I was to apprehend the worſt, and from thence

took

took my Reſolutions. My Wife being at this time come to *Paris*, went to viſit Madam *la* Princeſs; with whom, by the means of Devotion, ſhe had contracted an intimate familiarity. She had a great deal of talk with her, wherein ſhe declaim'd hotly againſt me; though at the end of her Diſcourſe ſhe ſeem'd deſirous to ſee me.

After this, ſhe carried my Wife with her to the *Carmelites*, where ſhe and Madam *d'Aiguillon* preſented her to the Queen, and endeavored to reconcile her to me; but they found her too obſtinately reſolved on my ruine, and already (as ſhe ſaid) engaged upon her word to Marſhal *de Baſompiere*. Madam *d'Aiguillon* carried her in the Evening to the Cardinal, who told her the ſame thing, and aſſured her, if ſhe had come but three Weeks ſooner, I might have been ſaved.

When I thus ſaw that all the World was bent againſt me, I reſolved not to ſee the Queen, for fear of receiving a command from her own Mouth, and being reduced to refuſe her to her face; and meeting with St. *Luc*, who aſſur'd me from

from his Uncle, that he would not contribute to my misfortune, nor desire my Place: I told him that I only desir'd, that he would not take it without my resignation, and he assur'd me that he would not.

The day following I was to visit Madam *la* Princess, who was at first in a violent Passion against me; I suffer'd her to say what she would; and being unwilling to justifie my procedure, because I would not altogether offend or condemn her (for that had seem'd immodest in me) I laid all that was pass'd upon my ill Stars, and unavoidable occurrencies. She often reflected upon poor Monsieur *de Beaufort*, to which I answered with as much modesty and fidelity as I could, and left her in appearance very much appeased: Indeed, (tho she took it ill that I did not beg her assistance) she promis'd my Wife to hinder my ruine, and bid her desire me to be at her House the day following, when her Son came thither. I pass'd the rest of the day in expectation of a Command; and the Morning after being informed that Marshal *de Bassompiere* seem'd to think it strange, that for so

many

many Civilities which he had done me, I ſhould not pay him one, I went to his Houſe, where he repeated to me the ſame aſſurances which St. *Luc* had before given me in his behalf, and for a remedy againſt my prepared Perſecution, adviſ'd me not to reſign, which advice I promis'd him to follow. After Dinner I waited for the arrival of Monſieur *d'Anguien*, to whom his Mother preſented me, and was very well receiv'd by him: His Father, whom I ſaw immediately after, reproach'd me a little, but without Paſſion, and aſſur'd me, that he would do me no hurt. When I ſaw this Family no more diſpleas'd at me, and on the contrary, that Madam *la* Princeſs had ſaid that day, That ſhe would take care of my Affair as of her own, I ſtill entertained ſome hopes, founded chiefly upon the great Reputation of Marſhal *de Baſſompiere*, whom I believed too generous to contribute to my ruine, after what he had promis'd me, and the requeſt he had made to the Duke *de Longueville*, to aſſure Madam *la* Princeſs, That ſhe was ſo far from diſobliging him in doing me ſervice, that he took it as a favor, pretending that he would by no means turn me out. In the interim,

becauſe I had not been at the *Louvre* for two or three days, I thought it convenient to let the Queen know, that after the report which was ſpread abroad, I durſt not out of reſpect preſent my ſelf before her to do my Office, though I believ'd her too juſt, and knew my ſelf too innocent to apprehend her digraceing of me. I deſired Monſieur *de Brienne* to do me this favor, and to viſit the Cardinal alſo, to tell him, That whatſoever was reported, I could not believe my unhappineſs, knowing well that I had never been deficient in the Fidelity was due to her Majeſty, nor in the reſpect which I ow'd to his Eminence. I had an Anſwer to the laſt Point the ſame day, and heard that the Cardinal did not ſhew any hatred againſt me, but ſpoke as if there were yet left ſome hopes of a Reconciliation: But as to the firſt, Monſieur *de Brienne* coming to ſee me the next Morning, told me, That as he began to ſpeak of me to the Queen, ſhe prevented him, and ſaid, That knowing him to be my Friend, ſhe choſe him rather than Monſieur *Tellier* (with whom ſhe had heard I was at difference) to bring me an Order to ſend her a reſignation of my Charge,

and

and gave him no other reaſon for this Command, than that ſhe would do Juſtice to Marſhal *de Baſſompiere*: My anſwer was, That I thought my ſelf the moſt unhappy Man in the World to have diſpleaſed the Queen, and that my Comfort was, that my Conſcience did not reproach me with having offended her either in great or little things; that as to my Charge, ſhe was the abſolute Miſtreſs thereof, and might diſpoſe of it; but I humbly beſeech'd her, ſhe would be pleaſed not to make me contribute to my own Misfortune: That having taken it eight Months before in the ſight of all *France* by Her Command, it would look as if I thought my ſelf guilty of ſome great Crime, if I ſhould ſo ſoon conſent to lay it down: and in fine, that for the little Services which I had endeavor'd to do her, I begg'd no other favor of her, than a permiſſion to retire to my own Houſe, there to lament my Misfortune, and wait for a time more favorable to my Innocence, which I hoped to ſee one of theſe Days, becauſe I believed her Majeſty juſt, and was ſure that God was ſo.

Monſieur

Monſieur *de Brienne* ſeeing he could not abſolutely diſapprove of my reſolution, ſaid only, That if I would take another, ſome advantages (beſides a full recompence for my charge) might be procured for me, as Breviates for a Knight of the Order of the *Holy Ghoſt*; a Marſhal *de Camp*; a Penſion of Two thouſand Crowns; and aſſurance of the firſt Office that fell: I ſlighted all theſe frivilous Favors, and left him, after I had deſired him to carry my Anſwer exactly to the Queen. An hour after my Wife told me, that Madam *la* Princeſs had excus'd her ſelf to her for the aſſiſtance ſhe promis'd to give me upon the conſideration of Marſhal *de Baſſompiere*, which ſhe deſired of him as ſhe ſaid (though the other deny'd it.) Thinking it not convenient to ſtay at my own Houſe after my Anſwer, I retired to one of my Friends, and in the Evening was told by a Perſon of great Quality that when he was at the *Louvre*, he ſaw a buſſle amongſt the Queens Guards, and heard it for certain, that there was an Order to Arreſt me. If I had followed my own Opinion, I

ſhould

ſhould have ſtaid in *Paris* to have ſeen how far they would have extended their Injuſtice: But my Friends not approving it, I went into the Country the next Morning. Soon after, I heard that the Queen, Monſieur, Monſieur *le* Prince, and the Cardinal, or rather in a word all thoſe in Power, were cruelly bent againſt me; and that Marſhal *de Baſſompiere* began to change his firſt Diſcourſe, and to ſay, that having ſo much right to the Charge, he could not refuſe it, if it muſt be that I muſt loſe it, and the Queen throw it upon him, but that he would never enter upon it till I ſhould be entirely ſatisfied. Againſt ſo great a Storm, I found few or no Friends, Monſieur *de Liancour* (who alone appeared for me with Vigor and Generoſity) was in the Country, almoſt all the reſt abandon'd me by little and little; and thoſe who remain'd, were either involv'd in the ſame misfortune with my ſelf, or too weak to aſſiſt me. Of the firſt, ſome, as Monſieur *de Brienne* in particular, propoſed to me the advantages in ſubmitting, and Perſecution if I reſiſted: Others, even of the moſt qualified, either out of complaiſance to thoſe in Power,

or

or put upon it by my Enemies, wrote me Letters to intimidate me, and would have made me apprehend, That I ſhould be treated as a Rebel, and as ſuch have my Goods confiſcated, and my Houſes razed. In fine, within a few days I receiv'd an hundred different Advices, which ſhak'd me not at all; at the Months end, when they ſaw me ſtill in the ſame mind, the Queen iſſu'd out a Declaration, by which the King publiſh'd, that the Reſignation of Marſhal *de Baſſompiere* was null (as being made while he was in Priſon, and upon a promiſe of being ſet at Liberty, which was not perform'd) and by conſequence, all the Proviſions made to the Marqueſs *de Coiſſin* and my ſelf, were void: This reſtor'd the Marſhal to his Charge without the neceſſity of taking a new Oath, upon condition that he paid me, within fifteen days, the four hundred thouſand Livers, which he had receiv'd in recompence thereof, or conſign'd this Sum to the Exchequer, in caſe that I would not give a Power to receive it. This Declaration drawn up by the Chancellor, and written with his own hand, left me to ſeek for the Twenty two thouſand Crowns

Crowns which I gave over and above; nevertheleſs, fearing leſt I ſhould recover them againſt him (with whom I had treated as a Tutor to *Coiſſin*'s grandſons) he took the Kings Breviate for the like Sum, to pay it to me. I heard this News (which mov'd me not at all) with another report that touch'd me much more, which was a Diſcourſe, which Madam *de Brienne* would have made my Wife believe ſhe had had with the Queen concerning me, wherein her Majeſty taxing my Diſobedience, ſwore (ſaid ſhe) before the Holy Sacrament, that ſhe had enough againſt me to take away my life, but out of pure goodneſs would not puſh it to the utmoſt. I confeſs, that this Diſcourſe made me ſo very angry, that I wrote a Letter immediately to Monſieur *de Brienne*, wherein I told him, that ſo long as my Charge and Fortune were only concern'd, I ſuffer'd without repining; but I could not forbear complaining, when I heard it ſaid, That my Innocence was wounded, and that they would render me black and odious in the Queens eyes, of whom, upon this occaſion, I begg'd nothing but Juſtice, and beſeech'd her if I was guilty,

guilty, to order the Parliament to Proſecute me, being ready to enter into Cuſtody whenever ſhe would let them know my faults. This was the ſenſe of my Letter, though in longer terms: Monſieur *de Brienne* thinking it (it may be) too bold, would not ſhew it to the Queen; and, as I think, only ſhew'd it to the Cardinal, which was not the thing I deſired of him. In the mean time Marſhal *de Baſſompiere* (ſeeing that all they could ſay to me till then, had not made me alter my Deſign, and being commanded by the Queen to reſolve diſhonorably to take my Place, after he had ſo often engaged his word to the contrary) was ſtrangely uneaſie, and endeavored every day, by a thouſand different ways, to render me leſs obſtinate. In fine, being (as he ſaid) extreamly preſs'd by the Queen, he gave my Wife three ſummons to receive his Mony, and in the third to give him a full Acquittance: She anſwered, That ſhe was ready to give him a Receipt, provided that he would bring her all the Mony. This put him to more trouble, having not the fourth part of the Sum, and all his intention being to conſign it in Paper by the

the favor of Monſieur *d'Emery*: He demanded to ſee my Letter of Attorny, and upon their refuſal (which was becauſe they thought he ask'd it only to prolong time) he ſaid, That if he did not ſhew it him within four days, he would conſign it into the Exchequer, and thereupon entred upon the Charge. In this extremity, though I was yet in the ſame mind that I was in at the beginning, I found all my Friends of a contrary Opinion, who remonſtrated to me, That it was to loſe both my Place and my Mony upon Truſt, ſince if I let him conſign it into the Exchequer (which he would only do by Writing) 'twas as if I ſhould throw my Money into a Gulf from whence I could never redeem it: That I had to do with an old Man, an Officer of the Crown and a refin'd Courtier, whom it was impoſſible for me to diſpoſſeſs ſo long as he liv'd, and that after his death I ſhould never get into my Place again, if I was not well with the Court: That my diſobedience would make them drive things to the laſt, and that I ſaw very well that he, whom they had put in over my head, was too old to anſwer my Reſentments, and a diſhoneſt Man, that having ſo many times

broaken his Word, would willingly become the Instrument of all the Cruelties they would exercise against me. All these Reasons added to the consideration of a Wife big with Child, and three young Children, whom I might make miserable by my death, made me at last yield; and I thought, that whatever reason I might have in my design, the Opinion of so many prudent and generous Persons, ought to be preferr'd before my own. So that I acquainted Monsieur *de Brienne*, that I was ready to obey and to receive my Money, and he promis'd me from the Queen all that he had propos'd to me the day that he had demanded my Resignation. Upon this, I gave my Letter of Attorny to my Wife, after having protested, that they said that it might sometime be serviceable to me, to which (to say the truth) I scarce gave any credit; and if I did keep my Resignation, 'twas only because I had at the beginning engaged not to give it; and not out of any hopes, that there might ever happen so great a Change as to get any advantage by it, having never devoted my self to any but the Queen; and finding my self ruin'd in her good Opinion, I am irrecoverably lost so

long

long as she is in Power; and when the King comes to be at Age to govern himself, there will be so great a disproportion betwixt his Age and mine, that I can never hope for access to, or familiarity with him.

What pass'd in my Affairs after what I have above related, is so well known to the World, that it would be a very tedious Discourse, if I should exagerate the Frauds of Marshal *de Bassompiere*, the Weaknesses of Monsieur *de Brienne*, and the Delays and Breaches of Promise the Ministers were guilty of. I have, it may be, already insisted too long upon things not very important; but as I made this Discourse only for my Relations and very particular Friends, they will have the Goodness to excuse the Faults therein, and though it seem not very Eloquent, they will at least find it full of Sincerity and Truth: I shall be extreamly glad, if it give them any Satisfaction, and shall have obtain'd the Principal End I propos'd to my self, if they acknowledge that in many things I have been more Unfortunate than Imprudent; and that in those wherein I

have been deficient, 'twas out of the Principles of Generosity and Fidelity, from which I will never deviate, though they have not been attended with Success.

FINIS.

THE TABLE.

A.

THe diſturbance at Agen. 209
Agen *keeps a Regiment at its own expenſe.* 211
Articles and Conditions that were agreed upon between Monſieur and the Prince of Condy, *for the expulſion of Cardinal* Mazarine. 290

B.

The Dauphin and the Duke d'Anjou *his Brother, are left in the Duke* de Beaufort's *charge, at the death of* Lewis *the Thirteenth.* 11, & 360
An Apology for the Duke de Beaufort. 299

Bourdeaux *beſieged by the Kings Army.* 146

The Deputies from the Parliament of Bourdeaux *conclude a Peace without communicating the Articles to the Princeſs of* Condy. 154

The different parties in the Town of Bourdeaux. 217

Brouſell *becomes head of that party of the Parliament, called the* Frondeurs. 38

He is ſeized and carried to priſon. ibid.

The Burgers riſe, and come to the Court in a tumult to ask his liberty. 39

C.

The Duke de Chaſtillon *is kill'd in attacking* Paris. 87

The Dutch ſs de Chevereuſe's *returning into* France. *Her coming to the Queen.* 20

The Queen ſends her to Dampierre. 395

The Coadjutor of Paris *perſwades the Prince of* Condy *to become the Head of the Faction, but is diſappointed.* 65

He afterwards gains the Prince of Conty's *Brother.* 66

The Arguments that were uſed to the Prince of

of Condy *to perſwade him to joyn with the Court, drawn from the danger of the Parliaments having too much power.* 69

His violent carriage in the Parliament. 72

He blocks up all Paris *with ſix or ſeven thouſand men.* 76

The Reaſons of his difference with Cardinal Mazarin. 133

His taking priſoner with the Prince of Conty's *Brother, and the Duke de* Longueville, *with the manner how.* 137

His return to Paris *after his Impriſonment.* 167

He being told that the Court intended to ſeize him, leaves Paris. 186

He returns to St. Maur, *where he keeps a great Court.* 190

His return from St. Maur *to* Paris, *believing himſelf too ſtrong for the Court there.* 196

His Quarrel with the Coadjutor in the Palais. 21

He makes War againſt the King in Guienne, *he is forc'd to retire to* Agen. 208

His dangerous Journy from Agen *to joyn his Army.* 210

He attacks the Kings Army, his Fight with the Marſhals d'Hoquincourt *and* Turenne. 230

His return to Paris *after the Victory.* 237

He is followed by eight or ten thouſand Citizens, whereof he makes uſe to take St. Denis. 239

The Propoſals he makes to the Court to conclude a Peace. 244

He finding himſelf in a weak condition, endeavors to paſs from St. Cloud *to poſt himſelf between the Rivers of* Marne *and* Seine, *but is overtaken by the Kings Forces. The Fight of* Paris. 261

He being overcome, leaves Paris *the ſame day the King made his Entrance into it.* 280

Monſieur de la Chaſtres *Letter to Monſieur* de Brienne. 288

Memoirs of Monſieur de la Chaſtres. 321

His Anſwer to the Queen about his diſgrace ſent by Monſieur de Brienne. 427

The Queens Declaration to eſtabliſh the Marſhal de Baſſempiere *in Monſieur* de la Chaſtres *place.* 430

Emery

E.

Emery, *Superintendant of the Finances, Impoſt, great Taxes.* 29
Eſtamps, *where Monſieur* le Princes *Army lay beſieged by the Kings Forces.* 256

F.

The French *Conqueſts in the Year One thouſand ſix hundred thirty five.* 26

K.

The King and Monſieur le Prince *write to the Officers, not to obey Monſieur* de Turenne *any longer, whom they heard ſtood ill-affected.* 10
The King and Queens Entry into Paris, *after the War.* 112

L.

Lewis *the Thirteenth consents, that the most considerable of those that were disgrac'd should return to Court.* pag. 10, & 341
His death. 30, & 370
The Duke de Longueville's *retreat into his Government of* Normandy. 113
The Dutchess of Longueville, *to escape going into* Normandy *to her Husband, perswades the Prince of* Condy *her Brother, to break with the Court, and prepare for a Civil War.* 180

M.

The Objections that were made against Cardinal Mazarin's *Governing in* France. 40
The Answer to them. 48
Cardinal Mazarin *goes himself to set the Princes at Liberty.* 167
He is chosen by King Lewis *the* 13th, *to be God-father to this present King* Lewis *the*

the Fourteenth, and the Princeſs of Condy *his God-mothers.* 358
Cardinal Mazarins *Letter to Monſieur* de Brienne. 282

P.

The War of Paris. 24
The diſcontented go to the Parliament for reparation. 31
An account of the three Parties in the Parliament. 33
The Parliament declares Cardinal Mazarin *an Enemy to the Government, and therefore Iſſue out Commiſſions to levy Soldiers.* 75
The Companies of Paris *voluntarily tax themſelves.* ibid.
The Fight of Paris, *between the Kings Forces and the Prince of* Condy. 264

Q.

The Queen ſends Heralds to the Parliament, and their Anſwer. 84
The Queen is offered to have the Prince of Condy *either kill'd or ſeized: She refuſes the firſt, but accepts the laſt.* 183

The reaſon that perſwaded the Queen to keep the Cordinal in the management of Affairs 375

R.

The ſtate of the Court at the Duke de la Rochefoucaults *returning thither.* 3
He gains the Duke d'Anguien *over to the Queens ſide.* 8
The Princes being Impriſoned, he diſpoſes things for a War. 139
Under pretence of his Fathers Funeral, he gets Men together, and arms them. 143

T.

They that moved Marſhal Turenne *to leave the Prince of* Condy's *ſide, and joyn with the King againſt him.* 198
The Marſhals de Turenne *and* d'Hoquincourt, *ſurprize Monſieur* le Princes *Forces at* Eſtamps, *and kill about* 1000 *or* 1200 *of his beſt Troops.* 245

Errata.

ERRATA.

PAg. 23. l. 7. for *was alſo ſiſter*, r. *by that Montague*. p. 52. l. 8. r. *at the* Feuillians. p. 66. l. 16. r. *of having*, p. 67. l. 9. r. *that far from*, p. 75. l. 14. dele *too*, p. 98. l. 12. for *yet*, r. *that*. p. 99. l. 16. for *which*, r. *with*. p. 100. l. 6. dele *they*. p. 105. l. 14. for *and* r. *that*. p. 128, l. 23. r. *with the heads*. p. 141. for *then* r. *there*. p. 181. l. 11. for *gives* r. *gave*. p. 265. l. 2. r. *rue de cours*. p. 268. l. 21. r. *Marſhals*. p. 274. l. 1. r. *au mortier*. p. 281. l. 12. r. *Rome*. p. 290. l. 12. dele *him*. p. 295. l. 14. dele *having*. l. 17. for *they* r. *and*, p. 310. l. 8. for *in all* r. *ſmall*, p. 224. l. 16. for *taking* r. *took*, p. 325. l. 22. for *Anet did* r. *from Anet*, p. 293. l. 17. for *King* r. *Kingdom*, p. 364. for *Guienne* r. *Guimene*.

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